

Baghdad, February 12, 1944.

No. 170

Subject: Baghdad Press Raises Cry Again for Self-Determination for the Arabs of North Africa.

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to report that the Baghdad press in the past week, apparently as the result of a directive from the Iraqi Government's Directorate General of Press and Propaganda, has again - as periodically last year - taken up the cry for self-determination for the Arabs of liberated French and Italian North Africa.

The newspapers make five points:

- 1) The Arabs have long struggled against French, Italian and Spanish imperialism in North Africa.
- 2) The Arabs helped greatly in the expulsion of the Axis forces from North Africa.
- 3) Since the Allies have applied the principles of the Atlantic Charter to liberated Syria, Lebanon, and Abyssinia, they should also carry out similar action in North Africa.
- 4) The French cannot justly demand freedom for France if they are unwilling to grant the same right to the Arabs of French North Africa.
- 5) The Arabs of North Africa desire their independence in order that they may join the rest of the Arab world in Arab union or federation.

I enclose herewith short excerpts from the following articles:

Rai Al-Aam of February 5, 1944: "The Arabs of North Africa and Arab Federation."

Saut Al-Ahali of February 8, 1944: "Freedom for Arab Morocco."

Rai Al-Aam of February 8, 1944: "Arab Morocco Fights for Freedom and Independence."

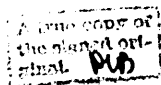
Al-Bilad of February 9, 1944: "Our Brethren in North Africa."

Respectfully yours,

Loy W. Henderson

840.1 - Arab Nationalism

File no. 800
REG/dcb



To the Department in ozalid.

Copies to:

American Legation, Cairo.
American Legation, Tangier.
American Consulate General, Algiers.
American Consulate, Tunis.
American Consulate, Casablanca.

Enclosure to
Despatch no. 170 dated
February 12, 1944 from
American Legation,
Baghdad.

RAI AL-AAM of February 5, 1944.

"When the forces of evil were driven out of Africa, the Arabs and especially the inhabitants of North Africa expected the era of imperialism to come to an end and the old Mandate system they were under to be abolished.... However, although the time since Africa was cleansed from the Axis forces, has been long enough to enable a reform of the economic and political condition in these Arab countries and a restoration of the public rights and democratic liberties to their inhabitants, nothing of the sort has yet been done.... The Arabs were and still are expecting the Allies to apply the Atlantic Charter to Tripoli, Morocco, Tunisia and Algiers like what is done to the other countries - headed by Syria, Lebanon, Abyssinia, Egypt and Iraq, to which the Atlantic Charter is applied. The Arabs of North Africa were expecting to be granted complete independence as it was done to Syria, Lebanon and Abyssinia in particular, because these countries have suffered much from the imperialistic policy and have and are still giving many sacrifices and services for the Allied cause and because their distinct stand on the side of the Allies and the assistance they have given, had a strong effect on defeating the armies of oppression in their countries.

"Now, since the inhabitants of these countries have expressed their determined desire to participate in the negotiations concerning the Arab Union and the attainment of their complete independence, it is the duty of the Allies to help those countries in realizing their objectives by including them in the Atlantic Charter, by deciding to give them complete independence and by opening the way for them to enjoy democratic liberties, so that this part of the Arab world may be able to take part in the Arab Union and in the new world to come. By so doing the Allies can give proof of their determination to fulfill their promises and of their good intentions regarding other nations including the Arab Nation."

RAI AL-AAM of February 8, 1944:

"Arab Morocco has suffered from the unsteadiness of the much-hated imperialistic policy more than any other country. She has been and still is in the stage where France is executing her oppressive policy as she likes, and as a result the country rose in revolt in 1926 under the leadership of Abdul-Karim Al-Rify, the Arab hero. Morocco is prostrate before the hated nightmare of French imperialism on one hand and Spanish imperialism on the other.... We are not enemies of the French people... We are the enemies of the policy which has done severe harm to the Arab countries bound to France... It is very unfortunate to see that the conservative policy of France... has not yet changed.... The Allies, including the French Committee of National Liberation, have announced the right of people to independence and to self-government; how can the French Committee herself go against the
Atlantic/

Atlantic Charter by refusing to accept the demands of Morocco? ... If war were still waging in Africa we would have excused the French Committee... But now that six months have elapsed since Africa was cleansed from the Axis forces and that things have returned to normal, it is high time that the Arabs of Africa should taste the liberty of which they were deprived for a very long time... It is also high time that France should fulfill her promises to the Arabs and work to realize their aspirations. We call on the free world to save this wounded part of the Arab world.... We ask the Allies to support Morocco and help her attain independence with the object of increasing the confidence of the Arabs in them.... At the same time we call on the leaders of the Arabs to unite with Morocco to assist her to come out triumphant from her present struggle."

SAUT AL-AHALI of February 8, 1944.

"The problem of the future of North Africa should not be left to the French Committee alone to decide because that part of the world was not liberated from the Axis by the French forces alone, but by the Allied forces... It is necessary therefore, that the United Nations should not leave North Africa to suffer from the imperialistic policy, but should take all measures to apply to her the Atlantic Charter...."

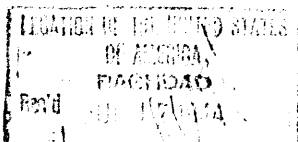
AL-BILAD of February 9, 1944.

"Naturally, the Arabs aim by their support given to the Allies in this war and by standing on the side of Democracy, at the execution of a general program of independence to include every Arab country in the world, a program for whose realization they have carried on a long national fight and sacrificed both men and materials. The aim of the Arabs is to have the Arabs life free and independent in their countries wherever they may be. The unjust policy of imperialism from which they have suffered for some time past has now become out of date and is no more admitted by anyone, neither in the East nor in the West. The Arabs expect an end to imperialism to be fully realized... The Arabs are very much concerned about the coming of the time when the national demands would be granted. If the French Committee in Morocco or in any other place, refuses to understand the requirements of the new age - the age of the democratic liberties - she is unfortunate and she should not expect here French homeland to live free and independent.

"It is also important that old-minded French imperialist and those like them, should not think that these matters concern only one specific country and are nothing but internal affairs. No. This is not True! The national cause of any one Arab country is the cause of all the Arabs living under the sun. Any persecution inflicted on any Arab land and any deprivation of her right to enjoy her natural privileges and liberties guaranteed for her by international law and promises, touch the sensitive nerve of all the Arabs who consider the move a challenge to their national aspirations and a denial of their essential

rights./

rights. Therefore, we believe that it is the duty of the Arab Governments in Iraq and elsewhere to watch these local problems in every Arab country with wide-opened eyes and to work to frustrate any aggression foreign powers attempt against such a country. And Furthermore, this is the first responsibility required by the democratic principles for which the Arabs are fighting along side with their Allies and for which they are giving tremendous sacrifices."



UNRESTRICTED

Damascus, Syria, July 6, 1944

No. 124

Subject: Statement of Syrian Foreign Minister in
Reply to American Overseas News Agency
Report Concerning Arab Unity and Palestine.

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington, D.C.

Sir:

1/ I have the honor to enclose a translation of a statement given to the local Arabic press by Jamil Mardam Bey, Minister of Foreign Affairs, and published in the newspapers of July 3 last. In it the Minister replies to a despatch from Cairo, attributed to the American Overseas News Agency, published in the Palestine Post, in which it is allegedly asserted that the Minister has forwarded memoranda to the Arab countries inviting them to a general meeting to examine the post-war claims of the Arabs and that he has also presented a memorandum in the same sense to the Allied Countries, in neither of which he mentions either the Arab question or the Palestine question. The Minister declares in his statement that the Syrian Government has never ceased to concern itself in these two questions and that the assertions of the Overseas News Agency are therefore contrary to the truth. He mentions specifically as evidence thereof the fact that the Syrian Government, together with that of other Arab Governments, protested against the proposal for the establishment of a Jewish State in Palestine presented to United States Congress, and states further that conversations on the question of Arab unity will be continued until they reach a successful conclusion.

Curiously enough the statement issued by the Foreign Minister does not directly deny the existence of the memoranda which the article in the Palestine Post asserts have been sent by Jamil Mardam Bey to the Arab and Allied Governments. He did, however, deny their existence to me upon my direct inquiry when seeing him on another matter on July 4, and likewise denied their existence in an interview given to the local correspondent of the Associated Press. To the latter, however, he made the off-the-record qualification that governments were always of course exchanging memoranda but insisted that none such as described in the Palestine Post article had been sent.

The Legation has been unable to find a copy of the
Palestine

Palestine Post carrying the despatch in question and it therefore appears possible that the particular issue, the date of which is not known, was not permitted to enter Syria and the Lebanon. By inquiry it is learned that the Foreign Minister himself based his statement upon an Arabic translation of the article sent from Palestine.

The only newspaper to publish this translation was the "Alef Na". According to this translation the despatch to the Palestine Post asserts that the Foreign Minister's memorandum to the other Arab Governments inquired whether they would agree to sending delegations consisting either of their Prime or Foreign Ministers to London where they would lay the post-war claims of the Arabs before Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt, who is expected to arrive in London soon, and that the second memorandum was addressed to the British Government, with copies to the other Allied Governments, requesting the British Government to guarantee Syrian independence by means of an Anglo-Syrian treaty. The despatch, according to the translation in question, goes on to state that the Syrian leaders have learned from various contacts with Allied representatives, including General Patrick Hurley, that the American and British Governments are in full agreement concerning their policy toward the Arab countries with the exception of the Palestine question, concerning which negotiations are being carried on, and the Syrian Foreign Minister, therefore, appeals to the Arab leaders to take advantage of this situation. The article in the Palestine Post then reaches the conclusion that inasmuch as the Foreign Minister in his memoranda made no mention of the Arab union or the Palestine question and that inasmuch as Transjordan has requested Great Britain to acknowledge its independence, this means that the plan of Arab unity has utterly failed.

The Legation has requested the American Consulate General at Jerusalem to furnish it with a copy of the despatch in question, and will make a further report on the subject if justified by further developments.

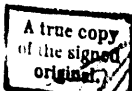
Respectfully yours,

J. C. Satterthwaite,
Chargé d'Affaires a.i.

Enclosure:
Translation of Article

File no. 840.1/800
JCS/gkm

Copies to: Beirut, Jerusalem, Cairo, Algiers
and Baghdad



(Enclosure to despatch No. 124 of July 6, 1944 from
American Legation, Damascus)

Source: "Le Matin" Damas-
cus, July 3, 1944

TRANSLATION

**Mr. Jamil Mardam Bey Replies to an American News
Agency and Speaks of Arab Unity and of
Palestine**

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Mardam Bey,
has made the following statement to the press:

"The newspaper Palestine Post has published a des-
patch from Cairo transmitted by the "American Overseas
News Agency" stating that His Excellency the Syrian
Minister of Foreign Affairs has forwarded a memorandum
to the Arab Countries inviting them to a general meeting
to examine the post-war claims of the Arabs and that he
has also presented a memorandum in the same sense to
the Allied Countries, neither of which mention either
the Arab question or the Palestine question.

"The National Syrian Government, since it took
office, has not ceased to employ the greatest efforts
towards Arab unity and the safeguarding of the rights
of the Arabs in Palestine. Therefore it can be af-
firmed that the claims of the American News Agency,
according to which the efforts of the Syrian Govern-
ment are not concerned with either the question of
Arab unity or that of Palestine, are contrary to the
truth and are false.

"The Palestine question has never ceased to be
the subject of concern not only to its own inhabitants
but to all Arabs as well. The facts have confirmed
the truth of this affirmation, particularly since all
the Arab Governments have in common agreement protested
against the suggestion of the American Congress for the
establishment of a Jewish State in Palestine, and since
moreover all consultations which have taken place be-
tween the Syrian Government and the Allied Arab States
have always included the Palestine question and the
rights of Arabs.

"Furthermore conversations on this subject continue
to take place and will be pursued until they have been
successful.

"The American News Agency draws a conclusion which
is curious to say the least from the two (alleged) memo-
randa of the Syrian Government and from the claim to
independence of the Transjordan. The American News
Agency pretends that all this is proof of the failure of
the plan for Arab unity.

"As concerns

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"As concerns the Transjordan, the Chief of the Government of that country has had the opportunity to reply, but as concerns the Syrian Government, we are in the position to affirm that consultations with a view to such unity are continuing normally and that the project for unity is on the point of being realized.

"We are divulging no secret in stating that the efforts of the Syrian Government to that end and its insistence on hastening the work have had the best repercussions for the realization of the aspirations of the Arab peoples. Not much time will pass before the results of these efforts may be known."

UNCLASSIFIED

(Classification)

ENCLOSURES

COPY NO.

(For Record Section only)

MILITARY INTELLIGENCE DIVISION W. D. G. S.

MILITARY ATTACHE REPORT

IRAC.

Subject Handbook of the Southern Desert.

(Country reported on)

I. G. No. 3630

From M. A. PACHARD, IRAC, (descriptive title) 389

Date 13 October 1944.

Report No.

Source and degree of reliability:

CICI, PAIFOM B-2.

SUMMARY.—Here enter careful summary of report, containing substance succinctly stated; include important facts, names, places, dates, etc.

1. Attache is a "Handbook of the Southern Desert of Iraq" received in 1943 by Squadron Leader Stevenson of CICI, PAIFOM. The writer, who has now returned to his pre-war occupation of missionary in Hilla, is an Australian with wide experience in tribal affairs.

2. The report, though ill-organized and confusingly written, gives valuable background material on the events occurring during the past 25 years on the Iraq-Saudi and the Kuwait-Saudi borders, as well as an account of negotiations between the governments concerned. It also gives an interesting picture of the sociological conditions obtaining among the tribes in this district.

3. CICI evidently did not distribute this report and does not wish it to be considered as one of their finished products. They did not assign it any classification.

1027 ARCHIE ROOSEVELT JR.,
1st Lt., A.U.S.,
Assistant Military Attache.

Approved by:

PAUL H.M. CONVERSE,
Colonel, Cavalry,
The Military Attache.

Distribution by originator JICAME; AMERICAN LEGATION; FILES (*- less incl.)

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Enclosures: 1. Handbook of the Southern Desert of Iraq.

HANDBOOK
OF THE
SOUTHERN DESERT OF IRAQ - REWRITE 1943

A report on the territory lying between the parallels of 28 and 32 North Latitude as far North as Wadi al Khurr and the Meridians of 42 and 48 East Longitude, as far West as Wadi al Khurr.

CHAPTER I.

FRONTIERS

1. The Southern Desert is sometimes called by its inhabitants the Shamiya, a term used by the Badouin to signify the whole of the desert east of Damascus and south of the Euphrates.

Prior to the Great War the only boundaries of this desert were the cultivated areas which surround it. Lying wholly within the Turkish Empire, it was intersected by no international frontiers, but subsequently the rise to power of 'Abd al 'Aziz ibn Sa'ud and his recognition by Great Britain as Sultan of Najd made it necessary to define the border between his territory and the newly-formed Kingdom of 'Iraq.

By the Treaty of Muhammerah (5th. May, 1922) and a subsequent protocol signed at Uqair on 2nd December, 1922, the border between the two states was delimited as follows:-

'IRAQ-NAJD BORDER

2. The frontier from the East begins at the junction of the Sha'ib al 'Auja with the Batin and from this point the Najd frontier passes in a straight line to the well called Uquba (Wuquba), leaving Dulaimiya and Uquba north of the line. From Uquba it continues north-west to Ansab.

Starting from the point mentioned above, i.e., from the junction of the Sha'ib al 'Auja with the Batin, the 'Iraq boundry continues in a straight line north-west to Amghar, leaving this place to the south of the line. Thence it proceeds south-west in a straight line until it joins the Najd frontier at Ansab.

The area delimited by the points enumerated above will remain neutral and common to the two governments of 'Iraq and Najd, who will enjoy rights in it for all purposes.

From Ansab the boundary between the two states proceeds north-west to Junaima, thence northwards to 'Aquba and Athamin, then westwards in a straight line passing through the centre of the Batn to Lifiya, thence to Ma'aniya, Judaidda al 'Ar'ar and Muqur, and from Muqur to the Jabal 'Anaiza ('Unaiza), situated in the neighbourhood of the intersection of latitude 32 North with longitude 39 East, where the 'Iraq-Najd boundary terminates.

KUWAIT-NAJD BORDERS.

3. The Kuwait-Najd Boundary Convention, also signed at Uqair on 2nd December, 1922, fixes the border between these two states.

It commences in the west from the junction of the Sha'ib al 'Auja with the Batin, leaving the water holes of Raqa'i to Najd and proceeds in a straight line to the point where the Shaqq crosses 29 north latitude. Thenceforward it continues in a semi-circle and terminates on the coast just south of Ras al Qulai'a.

A neutral area in which both governments will enjoy equal rights is defined by the Treaty as being bordered on the north by the frontier already described, on the west of the Shaqq, on the east by the sea and on the south by a line passing from west to east from the Shaqq to 'Ain al 'Abd, and thence to the coast north of Ras al Misha'ab.

'IRAQ-KUWAIT BORDER

4. The frontier between Kuwait and 'Iraq was accepted by His Majesty's Government on 19th April, 1923, as follows:-

From the intersection of the Sha'ib al 'Auja with the Batin and thence northwards along the Batin to a point just south of the latitude of Safwan; thence eastwards passing south of Safwan walls, Jabal Sanam and Um Qasr, leaving them to 'Iraq and so on to the junction of the Khor Zubair with the Khor 'Abdallah.

CHAPTER II

SOCIOLOGICAL BACKGROUND

The population of the Southern Desert includes practically none of the settled constituents of society; a few tiny hamlets are dotted along the edge of the Rahab on the southern flank of the sand belt running parallel with the Middle Euphrates, though even these are chiefly recruited from various shepherd sections.

Its main markets are Zubair, Khamisiya, and Samawa. The police posts of Salman and Busaiya around which have grown small settlements, boast a few small stores in the case of Salman, and one store at Busaiya.

ZUBAIR: Situated 13 miles south-west of Basrah, this town has grown up in the last 200 years on the site of old Basrah. It is perhaps the most important of the desert ports of 'Iraq, at which nomad caravans from most of the great desert tribes call to barter for foodstuffs and clothes. It is a distributing centre for the trade between the Western Desert and Basrah.

Individuals from almost every tribe in Northern Najd will be found there. The inhabitants numbering about 6000 in all, are Najdi and by religion Sunni almost to a man, the wealthier ones being Najdi merchants who have long left their ancestral homes and settled in Basrah or Zubair. The town is therefore always well informed with regard to political happenings in the desert.

KHAMISIYA: The town was built some 50 years ago by an enterprising Najdi merchant named "Abdalla al Khamis." It was intended as a source of supply to Caravans for the desert tribes and was constructed on its present site to overcome the difficulty of access to Suq al Shuyukh which is cut off from the desert by water in the flood season. It is thus a rival to Zubair, over which it has the advantage of being nearer the normal camping grounds of the Dhafir and to the route to Ha-il.

Khamisiya occupies much the same position with regard to Suq al Shuyukh that Zubair occupies relative to Basrah. It draws on Suq al Shuyukh for its requirements, mainly the food and clothing always in demand by the Badouin tribes.

SAMAWA: Samawa is a flourishing town on the banks of the Euphrates catering largely for the wants of nomads and shepherd tribes, being one of the nearest to Ha-il of the "desert ports." Its principal customers from Najd are the Shanmar.

One of the characteristics to which the primitive Arab clings most pertinaciously is pride of race; and this is strongest among the Badouin Arabs who rather despise the shepherd Arab from the tribes now semi-settled in 'Iraq along the Euphrates. However, the Badu tribes, which are "Asil" or thoroughbred, are those particular tribes whose genealogy, is still accepted as unmixed. About this constellation hover various other nomadic Arab tribes, somehow outcast from the former class and referred to by them, with typical Badu arrogance as:

"Awag Dakhan" (a wisp of smoke). These non-thoroughbred Nomads have come to represent a considerable tribal force such as the 'Awazin of Northern Hasa, but their foundations are not just correct according to the proud standards of Arab genealogy.

The Sulabba or Sulaib The most unusual of the tribes not accepted as thoroughbred or 'Asil are the Sulaib, considered by some to be of a descent foreign to the Arab. Another non-thoroughbred tribe, the Sulailat, allied to Dhafir, owe their origin (it is said) to an alliance of an 'Anaza Shaikh with a Sulabbi maiden.

The Salubba, as well as being disqualified on the first count, by virtue of their make-shift manner of life, are not even Badu. Their livelihood is gained by carrying, wood-selling and other odd jobs. The Sulabbi is famed as a hunter. The 'Awazin Rusha-ida and Sulailat however are definitely referred to as Badu. There are a few cases of Dahamshe and Shammari Arabs taking non-Asil wives from the Sulabba but the tribesmen concerned have been required to leave their tribes and live with the Sulaib.

The Odd Craftsmen not tribally connected, such as weavers, shoe-makers, carpenters, black-smiths and even slaves living among tribes are all grouped by the Badu under the one heading; viz.,

"Abraq al Dhahar" - a word referring to a broken patch on a slope, irregularly coloured where mingled sand and stone appear on the surface. The alaves, however, object to their inclusion in this category considering themselves much more "Asil."

The Shepherd Tribes ("Shawiya") of the southern desert are nomads or semi-nomads-miscellaneous families, sections or tribes, principally from the Muntafiq confederation, the Bani Huchaim and the Chabsha. Their total number is very great. They move out to the desert after the first winter rains, probably in November or December, and profit by the water and pasture there until March. For their transport they use donkeys and the presence of large herds of these animals is as distinctive of Shawiya encampments as grazing camels are indicative of the proximity of Badouin tents. Being without camels, the "Zuraiji" fly has no terrors for them, and in April, when water in the desert becomes scarce, they move straight in to the cultivated area and camp on the river bank.

The social organization of the desert is in tribes, partly because of the original family feeling and partly because the instinct of self-preservation compels large masses of men to hold together for mutual support by belonging to a recognized tribes each man feels that he has a strong body of nominal kinsmen to support him if he is injured and equally to bear the burden and discharge his wrong-doing when he is the guilty party.

All nomad society is patriarchal. One man can answer for each unit, often very large units. The power of a chief depends almost entirely upon his qualification for the office, and is therefore a variable quantity contingent on the individual himself and his near relations if he possesses the art of carrying them with him. Chiefs must, as a rule, belong to one particular family but succession to office is not necessarily hereditary, although in the case of a powerful chief with a capable eldest son, the office would not doubt descend to him without question.

Generally speaking, each Badouin tribe has its own district or "dira" in the desert. This, however, does not mean that they will always be found in it, as they may frequently be driven from it through (a) economic necessity or, (b) force of arms should a more powerful tribe desire to graze in it.

The feature most obvious to Europeans and strangers generally, is suspicion. Every man is treated as a potential enemy till he shows evidence to the contrary, and is kept at a distance until his person or his authority can be recognized.

The one thing needful to the traveller amongst nomads is a "rafiq", i.e., a companion derived from the tribe through whose range he must pass or from some tribe allied with it or authorized to its range. If possible, he should be a man of importance whose face will be recognized instantly by the desert men - a race which, like other unlettered races, keeps a long memory for faces and a very wide knowledge of personalities - still better if he has been attached to the traveller by some well known chief.

Whilst the features and customs of Badouin life which most directly affect intercourse with strangers are more or less common to all tribesmen, it should be remembered that the Government Officer whose duties take him into the desert and who is unusually accompanied by some display of authority or force, is in a very different position from that of an unattached traveller, whatever the credentials of the latter. The nomad tribes of the Shamiya, as a whole, have come to regard all British officials as their protectors and benefactors, and to those they almost invariably extend a hearty welcome.

Badouin, riding on camels, have a great advantage over the shepherd in the desert, the latter being mounted only on horses, which are unable to travel great distances. The Badouin consider themselves the princes of the desert and from time immemorial a sort of tribute called "Khawa" was paid them by the shepherds, and Badouin chiefs undertook to protect the various shepherd sections who paid them tribute. This practice, however, owing to the interference of Government control no longer remains, the discontinuation of it being considerably to the impoverishment of the Badouin.

With the fall of Ha-il and the breaking of the Rashid dominion in Jabal Shammar, the large Shammar Shaikhs were no longer the princes they used to be in the southern desert; and the practice of receiving "Khawa" from the "Shawiya" ceased from that time. The Sultan of Najd, however, has managed to number certain of these Middle Euphrates "Shawiya" such as sections of the Sayyad and the A'ajib of the Bani Huchaim confederation among the Arab tribes from Iraq who do him homage. They invariably use their spring excursion to the desert for a visit far afield to the seat of Ibn Sa'ud at Riyadh or to his representative at Ha-il, paying his Zikkat, receiving the gifts he has to bestow.

The 'Anaza Shaikh, Ibn Hadhdha, as late as 1929-1930 sent a party of his servants to gather "Haq al Shaikh" (the Shaikh's due) from the Shawiya Shibil and Ghazalat then in his district in the vicinity of Nukhaib and Lusuf. This, however, the Government required him to return to the tribes concerned.

It is still a custom among the Shawiya to send presents of a number of head of sheep which is called "Sharha" to important Shaikhs of the Shammar and to Ibn Hadhdhal on their annual excursion to the desert, if in the vicinity of those latter. The Shammar Shaikhs in the habit of receiving this "Sharha" are those of the house of 'Ali and of Waibar of Shammar ('Abda) and those of the house of Tawala of Shammar (Sayih) Iba Subbah of Kuwait sends a "Sharha" to the Dhafir (Butun). This is given to the house of Dhuhahi of the Suwait section and to the house of Hallaf of the Sa'id Section. It used also to be sent to "Sahib al Buwait" (the man in control of the "little house" - the tent kept as a sort of Council Chambers by the Shaikh of the Dhafir). This practice of the Subbahs remains from the days of Shaikh Hamud when the Dhafir had an honoured place among the ruling forces in the southern desert.

Ibn Sabbah gave then "Khawa" and, as a result, expected his camelherds to be well treated in the desert.

In the same way, the Suwait consider they have a say in the affairs of the 'Awazim. The Suwait Shaikh claims for himself any 'Awazim branded camels taken by Dhafir tribesmen among spoil from a raid on a tribe such as the Mutair who may have previously spoiled 'Awazim tribesmen of these camels. In the same way, camels bearing the brand of the agailis (the Najdi camel-trading class) taken by Ruwalla, 'Amarat and Dhafir tribesmen were claimed by the respective Shaikhs of those tribes. In fact the rule is a Shaikh claims out of loot taken by his tribesmen, all stock the brand of which indicates its having been previously looted from his patrons. This practice is not as strong as it used to be. It is called 'arafa.

Yusuf Beg of the Sa'dun princely house, now retired to the border of lake Hammar, receives a sort of "Sharha" of sheep and foodstuffs for the maintenance of his "Mudnif" (guest house) from certain Shawiya tribes. But this is very much in the nature of a compliment paid him by these shepherds to whom the majesty of the Sa'dun, long since eclipsed, still appeals. 'Abadallah Sa'dun, who maintains a Badu menage on a grand scale in the desert not far from the river, is more given to the distribution of bounty than the receiving of it.

In reviewing the customs of the Badu there is much that stands forth directed alone by his vanity and pride.

The hospitality of the Arab is of world-wide renown. Even the poorest and meanest is in honour bound to entertain all who enter his tent. After the traveller has eaten of his host's food, the latter must protect him from harm, until at least the third day after the meal. This is a custom naturally welcomed and, thus, firmly held among all those tribesmen who live their nomadic life in a land where there is little or no security for any when temporarily separated from their tribe.

The "Dakhala" is where a person throwing himself on the protection of another must be defended and may not be given up whatever it costs. A guest formally claiming assistance is entitled to full support. This latter injunction would prove intolerable were it not that pride and custom forbid a tribesman from availing himself of it except as a last resource.

/The "ALAQ"

The "Alaq": In the same way, there is the "Alaq" a small leader or Shaikh needing to circulate in every territory, demonstratively tells a strong Shaikh who is in a position of influence with the former's enemies that he "attaches" himself to him, although the latter may despise him. This vote of confidence can barely be rebuffed even if considerable inconvenience and risk attaches to the protector, because it adds largely to his prestige. The material benefit derived is more for the odd tribesman belonging to the protecting Shaikh who may be paid to accompany the one seeking "Alaq" or going in "Wajh" (face-presence of) of his Shaikh. The protector immediately lets all concerned know his attitude in the matter and is responsible for the safe passage of his "Mu'alliq" from group to group through the territory within his sphere of influence.

The Shaikh with whom the "Alaq" is made may even be the paramount Shaikh of the tribes with whom the other has the feud. But his pride has been flattered. The other becomes a sort of "Qasir" (plural Qasara). This term, however, is applied to all Arabs foreign to the tribe living as "neighbours" (jar-plural Jiran) among them. The "Fasal" or "Hasham" (a settling up in theft or act of violence) that the tribe or section demands in any assault made on their "Qasara", even by a relative is four times greater than the usual. This settling up in the case of the "Qasara" or "Jiran" is called "Hasham."

THE GHAZU (RAID)

Unless barred by definite federation, treaty, or ancient friendship, every tribe has the right to raid any other according to a well-established code of warfare, and to go out on a raid is the young man's chance of proving himself. It is virtually obligatory on all tribes except the meanest to provide him with this opportunity. The fights are comparatively bloodless, quarter is freely given and prisoners honourably treated and, when the raid is finished, returned to their tribe. A man who surrenders, gives up his mount, his rifle and even his clothes except the bare minimum.

Raiding parties may be met with very far from the ranges of their own people. They may generally be recognised by travelling light without women or baggages and mounting one, or sometimes two, armed men per riding camel. They are not very particular and will swoop down on a caravan without asking many questions or being much disposed to respect persons. Unless the traveller's party is very decidedly stronger than the attackers, it should submit at once. Most of its belongings will be taken, but no life. Such submission is a well-recognised part of the game and entails no slur on the courage of any member of the party.

In the majority of cases, the object of the raid is simply to add to the number of camels possessed by a tribe, for these constitute their sole capital. Thus after a severe season, or as the result of exceptional circumstances involving great hardship or loss, individual leaders may be expected to initiate numbers of small raids to make up their losses at the expense of others. Ordinary raids involve the minimum of casualties, in order to avoid the blood feud.

BLOOD FEUD

Any deaths caused by raiders become the subject of a blood feud, which is a sacred and honourable obligation among the nomads. It may be either fought out or composed by the payment of a fixed sum of blood money, the amount of which varies with each tribe. Most

blood feuds are settled by payment in the end, but it is not considered honourable to accept the money at once, when the blood of one's relatives is newly shed. Money paid in settlement is called "Diya". A temporary suspension of the feud may take place for such sufficient reasons as inter-tribal war, a rising against the Government, etc. During the campaign in the Hejaz in 1916-1918, Lawrence met with conspicuous success in composing tribal differences and blood feuds and in uniting them against a common enemy, the Turk.

It is worth while remembering that no Badouin society is self-supporting. Even if it can supply itself with food from its own "Dira" or some purely Arabian oasis - which it rarely can - it is dependent on the outer world for other necessities as well as for any sort of simple luxury. Clothing materials, coffee, tobacco and, to a great extent, arms and ammunition, can only reach it from ports or from the settled districts on the fringes of Arabia. Those, therefore, who control such ports or districts can always exercise an influence on the desert men however inaccessible, command their behaviour and, in the long run, punish them for acts of hostility.

A general line up of the tribes bordering on the southern desert might be given as:-

Of the "Ahl al Janub" (the Southerners):-

The 'Awazim from north of Hasa; allied to the Suwait of the Dhafir but reckoned Jiran or Qasara.

The Mutair from Surman and the southern borders of Kuwait who formed the back-bone of the most violent section of the likhwan movement and whose relations are mainly with the 'Ajman often cross the borders of 'Iraq and Kuwait for grazing in spring and also summer on the Neutral Zone wells. About fifteen houses of the Jufairat section are "Jiran" with the Suwait.

The Harb from Qasim; some ten tents or so are beginning to circulate with the Suwait of the 'Dhafir but not as "Jiran." Some 25 tents of the Nakhasha section are with the Dahamsha as "Jiran," joining them in their fights with the Jabal under ibn Haddhal. A large group of about forty tents of the Bani 'Ali Section often join the Shammar (Aslam), mostly with the Mas'ud Section on their excursions into 'Iraq either to summer or for spring.

The Rasha-ida (a non-thoroughbred tribe) who are really under the tutelage of the Mutair form the bulk of the "Uraib Dar" of the Shaikh of Kuwait, together with the 'Awazim also a non-Asil tribe.

The 'Ajman from south of the 'Awazim are used by ibn Sabbah for his special soldier-servants ("Fidamiya"). In bad years in Najd when the country is "Mahal" or barren (as experienced in 1938 and 1939, when an extremely remunerative tax levying was made in 'Iraq) a large influx of these southern tribes into 'Iraq occurs across the Batin.

/ Of the

Of the Ahl al Shamal (the Northerners):-

The Shammar whose dira lies about the common frontier of 'Iraq and Najd from Huzul to Hafar mingle with the Dhafir in the Southern Desert; though, due to the rather undetermined nature of their Dira in regard to the two countries, a definite and salutary tribal control has been lacking in their case, and as it appears, the Shammar section are responsible. The Harab who border the Shammar to the south are among their friends. These Shammar definitely do not mix with the Dahamsha section of the 'Amarat ('Anaza) under Muhammad al Turki.

The 'Amarat ('Anaza) occupy the Northern Desert - the half of the Shariya in 'Iraq, west of Wadi al Khurr - but the Dhahamsha section move into the southern desert very often.

There are a few "Qasars" of the Dahamsha with the 'Uraif of the Samidda Division of the Dhafir.

Internal feuds have split the 'Amarat division of the 'Anaza, but the 'Anaza as a whole is split into two great opposing camps, one used to be led by ibn Haddhal, when the whole, 'Amarat together with the Sha' and the Fad'an follow him; the other, by the Sha'lan of the Rawala of Syria and including such as the Wuld 'Ali and Bari Wahab from which is the Masalikh, the tribe of the Sultan of Najd, The former division is called the Bisir the latter the Jilas

CHAPTER III

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

At the beginning of the present century in Northern Arabia (including the Southern Desert in Iraq), it was possible to observe three (perhaps four) Princedoms, each claiming allegiance from residents in its own particular sphere and sometimes beyond.

The position of Prince Mubarak of the House of Sabban of Kuwait brought him into political negotiations with foreign rulers such as the Prince of Monamurah, Shaikh Khaz'al and the rulers of Basrah. He had an alliance with Great Britain at the time when Turkish pressure and German interests were so insistent, prior to the 1914 - 1918 War. He had been the succourer of 'Abdal 'Aziz Ibn Sa'ud of Riyadh, since the time of the latter's exile and the reverse he suffered at the hands of the Rashids of 'Abal Shammar towards the close of the last century.

Notwithstanding this, Mubarak's position was such that he gave a form of safe conduct payment to the shaikh of the Dhafir for the sake of peace and quietness and as a guarantee that his 'Uraib Dar and caravans be unmolested. The tribes bordering on Kuwait and South of the Euphrates, were a force to be reckoned with; and these were often co-ordinated under the banner of the famous Sa'dun Princes who for long had exercised a varied rule in this area and for north of it among the semi-nomad tribes in the lower Riverain. Around the end of the last century, or at the beginning of this, the Sa'dun prince, 'Ujaimi led the Muntafiq Tribes and the Dhafir in a grand clash at Anghar with Ibn Sabbah and his 'Uraib Dar, composed mainly of the Rusha'ida and Mutairi and 'Awazini Tribesmen. Ibn Sa'ud still a refugee with Ibn Sabbah, was present at the battle.

About 1915, however, there is the spectacle of 'Ujaimi Beg al Sa'dun, the Nomad Sa'dun Prince of that day, in great difficulties with the Dhafir and the shepherd tribes who for sometime had been tending to throw off his yoke and were now refusing to pay him "KHAWA".

The Princely House of the Rashids at Jabal Shammar, under Zamil al Rashid at that time, were ready to hand to support the Sa'duns. A large force from the Shammar (mainly the Aslam) helped 'Ujaimi at Abu 'Ajaj, near Abu Ghar in the sand-belt south of the Euphrates.

It was at this time that Zamil al Rashid met his death at the instigation of Sa'ud Ibn Salih Al Subhan (Al Mutawajjid, as he was nicknamed) a close relative of his and a member of a rival family of the Rashids, and not to be confused with Sa'ud Al 'Abdal 'Aziz.

In 1920, the Shammar (Aslam) were also at hand to assist the then Prince of Kuwait, Amir Abdallah al Salim, who was about to face the ravages of the Akhwan of Ibn Sa'ud who had, since 1902, become established at Riyadh. Du'ajj al Sabbah, the tribal leader of the Sabbahs confidently sallied forth to south of the borders of the present Kuwait-Najd Neutral Zone, only to retire hastily to Janara, which was spoiled.

/ Soon

Soon afterwards Ibn Salim died, and Ahmad al Jabir al Sabban, the present Prince was raised to the Principedom to carry on the traditional friendship of Mubarak al Sabban with Ibn Sa'ud. He retired to within the walls of Kuwait and absolved himself from responsibility towards the desert and any tribes who might remain outside the walls during the troubled time.

The Amir Ahmad al Jabir, on the death of Salim, had been sent to Kuwait by Ibn Sa'ud from Riyadh where he had had sanctuary from the wrath of Ibn Salim, who was of the rival family of Sabban. Ahmad became an agent for Ibn Sa'ud, and Kuwait was his supply base in the campaign against Ha-il. In the sitting of the commission to decide the Kuwait-Najd border, the borders of Kuwait were much reduced in favour of Ibn Sa'ud. The Amir Ahmad had to concede this, but he would not guarantee what his attitude might be, in the event of the Government of Najd passing to other than Ibn Sa'ud.

About this time the Rashid Prince, Sa'ud 'Abd al Aziz who had now grown up to take the place of the murdered regent, Zamil, was extremely busy together with some of the Shammar helping the Turks in the Hajaz. On returning from the Hajaz, he battled at Jauf and ousted the Ruwala (under Ibn Sha'lan) with tribes of the Huwaitat and other sections, gaining the timely assistance of Shammar sections from 'Iraq most important of whom were those under Dhari al Tawala of the Aslam. This was about six months before the Akhwan attack on Du'aij al Sabbah's forces.

(See under "The Shammar" for details of the murder of Sa'ud 'Abd al 'Aziz soon after his return from Jauf and the subsequent dissension of treachery in the house of Rashid at the time of the attack upon Ha-il).

Meanwhile, 'Abd al 'Aziz Ibn Sa'ud at Riyadh, had not been wasting time. After his inconclusive battle at Jarrab, north-east of Zalfi, with Zamil al Rashid, in 1915, he set to work on the structure of the party he was to raise from the ranks of the Wahabis whose fortunes since 1800 had been so inseparably bound up with those of the Sa'uds in Riyadh (the Sa'uds like the Sabbahs were 'Anazal the former from the Masalikh of the Wuld Ali, the latter from the Salaqa of the Jabal section of the 'Amarat). The progress or otherwise of the Wahabis at Riyadh had always directly affected the fortunes of the House of Rashid of the Shammar.

Ibn Sa'ud now set to work in earnest to reforge the traditional instrument, the Wahabis, into his "Akhwan". He set his preachers to work throughout the tribes of the Mutair, the 'Utaiba and the Shai' most of all. The 'Awazim and 'Ajman were affected by the movement and followers were also gained from the Harb and even from the Shammar itself to join the "Mutadayyinin" (religious men). The Sulaib of Najd were given a banner by Ibn Sa'ud which was called "Bairaq al Loutan" (the banner of the Slayers), to encourage these unwarlike sullabis. The Arab with his passion to appear religious, fell easily for this movement which, holding up the promise of spoil and the gift of a comfortable living (notwithstanding their much vaunted acts of austerity), presented great opportunities to sensuous men of little moral worth or pirty to arrogate to themselves great virtue and to sweep through the country forcing one and all to acknowledge them.

/ The

The Akhwan preachers stressed the greater measure of ceremonial purification possible to Moslems in the settled state around water, arguing that the prophet Mohd. was a "Hadhari" or settled Arab. There was plenty of money at that time for Ibn Sa'ud to raise Akhwan settlements in the districts of Qasim and 'Aridh and so to disrupt existing bonds in the surrounding tribes.

When these hordes were finally let loose, they came very near justifying the fear of 'Abdallah Ibn Jaluwi al Sa'ud, 'Abd al 'Aziz's relative and representative at Hasa. He wrote 'Abdal 'Aziz, "beware, that the pistol does not go off at your side." "Don't worry" was the answer, "when I am finished with it, I'll remove the spindle from the cylinder," (referring to Faisal al Dawish, the main Akhwan leader).

The raiding by the Ikhwan was a very different business from that of the 'adu Ghazu, being carefully organized on a large scale. None of the "rules of the game" was observed; no prisoners were taken and all males except babies in arms were slaughtered in cold blood. Beyond being deprived of their ornaments, women were not usually molested.

Nominally, the object of the Ikhwan is the spread of their religion by the sword, to terrorise all "Kafirs" or infidels, a term applied by them even to other moslems not of the same persuasion into accepting their particular version of Islam. Without an adequate prospect of loot, however, the cause would doubtless find few adherents amongst the Nomads. Such merciless warfare among non-Ikhwan Tribes is as already stated, of very rare occurrence.

The Ikhwan of Ibn Sa'ud had got well into their mad, ferocious stride at the time of the fall of Jahara. They had just come from a succession of fearful slaughters: - At Julaida (in the present, 'Iraq-Najd Neutral Zone), when these marauders fell upon a party of the Shammar (Aslam) at dawn, at their morning prayers and slew them to a man - 90 "beards" of them; at Sha'iba of the Nefud, in the Summer of the same year (1919), when the victims were Shammar ('Abda), Milbis al Jabrin of the Shammar ('Abda) being present with the Ikhwan at the slaughter as at Julaida -- brother slaying brother; and so on.

Straight after Jahara, they swept on to the Kharizat in the sand-belt south of the river Euphrates where bani Husain (the Dhafir) and some of Ibn Tawala's people, Shammar (Aslam) were the main target. From thence, after various raids in Najd, chief of which was the slaughter of a mixed group of Shammar at Lina; on to Ha-il which, after a series of engagements, was invested and fell in November, 1921 after a two month's siege to the Ikhwan led by Faisal al Dawish Chief of the Mutair.

In March, 1922, an Iraqi camel corp which had been created in the Southern Desert, led by Yusuf Beg of the Sa'dun nobles, the successor and cousin of 'Ujaimi Beg, together with the tribes in the vicinity of Shaqra were attacked by the Ikhwan and suffered heavy losses. In the mean time the Dhafir Tribe had become very unsettled. 'Ujaimi Beg al Sa'dun before his influence in the Southern Desert had been removed with the defeat of the Turks, divided the allegiance of the Dhafir. The Sa'id with some of the Jawasim and the Dhar'an from

/the

Saridda division of the Dhafir, took sides with him and Faisal al Dawish against Shaikh Hamud al Suwait with whom were the 'Uraif and the rest of the Dhafir. Hamud al Suwait the traditional enemy of the Sa'duns, who had been on a visit to Ibn Sa'ud, was returning to 'Iraq when the Ikhwan launched their attack on the camel corp under Yusuf Beg early in 1922. Because of this, Hamud was suspected of complicity in the raid. The original cause of his defection and visit to Ibn Sa'ud had been the discontinuance by the 'Iraqi Government of the subsidy because of his failure to restrain the Dhafir from raiding.

Yusuf Beg in 1923, after the disbanding of the camel corp also paid a visit to Riyadh. He returned to 'Iraq to become involved in an attack upon the Suwait who were now supported by the Jawasim as well as the sections already enumerated. Shammar (Aslam) under Rughayyan al Barazi, who were camped in the vicinity of Safwan, and some secessionist Ikhwan called by Ibn Sa'ud the "SAHT", were all implicated. Prominent among the secessionist Ikhwan were 'Ali al Shuwairibat with a group of the Hurriya Section of the Mutair and Nayif al Humaid of the 'Utaiba.

CHAPTER IV

NEGOTIATIONS, BORDER AGREEMENTS & TREATIES

With the fall of Ha-il, the position in regard to Ibn Sa'ud who had proclaimed himself Sultan of Najd had become most unsatisfactory. The happenings recounted above, together with following series of incidents indicative of lack of control in the Southern Desert, were all incidental to the difficulty experienced at this time in arriving at any sort of concerted action between the two countries of 'Iraq and Najd for frontier control.

Behind this difficulty was the fact of the entire dissatisfaction and natural uneasiness with which Ibn Sa'ud viewed the entrance of a Government, with mysterious constitutional ways of which he knew and wished to know nothing, into the affairs of the Arab tribes of the Desert. The type of Badu or patriarchal rule exercised by Ibn Sa'ud can never accept in any very certain manner the fact of borders though the king himself be a signatory to frontier agreements. The only delimitations he can see or afford to recognise are those governed by inter-relationship and alliances of the Arab tribes. He sees tribal leaders near and far whom he views with apprehension and considers unsettling to the balance of power in the desert and thus a serious threat to his authority, across which he can not afford to let the slightest shadow fall. The approach of a tribe on the 'Iraqi side of the border, which may be connected in some way with the tribal elements inimical to him has at times seemed all that is necessary for him to revive long discarded complaints and to place vague charges of lawlessness against them without any certainty about their guilt or their infringement of his territorial rights.

Earlier on, when he was irritated and alarmed at the fact that sections of the Shammar, impelled by the threatened fall of Ha-il, had taken refuge with the 'Amarat ('Anaza), he wrote a sharp note to Fahad Beg al Hadhdhal and laid claim to the allegiance of the whole 'Amarat Section of the 'Anaza. On this occasion the Shammar were ordered by the High Commissioner to move into the Jazira north of the Euphrates, and in writing to Ibn Sa'ud after the fall of Ha-il, he pressed upon him the importance of settling the frontiers of the two states and laid down the basis on which negotiations should be conducted, namely that the tribes of Muntafiq, the 'Anaza and the Dhafir must be accepted as appertaining to 'Iraq and that the line of the frontier would be determined in accordance with predominant and prescriptive rights to watering places.

The Treaty of Muhammarah was signed on the 5th. of May and the two protocols at 'Uqair on the 2nd. of December. By article 3 of the first protocol, the two Governments mutually agreed not to fortify watering places in the neighbourhood of the frontier.

Relations between Najd and 'Iraq remained precarious, notwithstanding the signatures of these agreements. Ibn Sa'ud's tax collectors, ignoring the frontier delimitation, continued to levy Zikat on tribes, Badu and shepherd, who rightly owed allegiance to 'Iraq, while the Shammar who had taken up abode in 'Iraq perpetually abused their asylum by raiding into Najd. Earlier on, it was mostly the Shammar (Aslam) who, during the early raids of the Ikhwān and the preparation by these latter for the attack on Ha-il, had been busy raiding from the country of the Dhafir into Najd in the direction of Qasim.

Much of the raiding was due to the presence of the "Saht" Ikhwan in the vicinity of Safwan, Zubair, Chuwaibda (Kuwaibda) and Rumaila. Sayih Shammar tribesmen under Mohd. al Waj'an and Naahhar al Shuraiti (Aslam); Mutlaq ibn Ayish (Tuman); Sa'ud al 'Uqaili (the Juhaish section of the Aslam) and Asman al Ma-ij (Sinjara) who, after the fall of Ha-il had all been made to leave the southern Desert and had settled in the Hawijji, also raided down into Najd.

Matters came to a head in June, 1923, when a series of raids against Najdi caravans resulted in a direct protest from Ibn Sa'ud to the High Commissioner and a request for the expulsion of the Shammar from 'Iraq. A reply was sent pointing out that no undertaking had ever been given by the 'Iraqi Government that any subject of the Najdi Government should be expelled at the request of the latter, but stating that the Iraq Government had been impressed with the necessity of taking all possible steps to restore the loot. At the same time, Shaidhs of the 'Iraq Shammar, with whom the later arrivals were camped in the Jazira, North of the Euphrates, were made responsible for their control.

As time went on, it was seen that the treaties and agreements to define the 'Iraqi-Sa'udi frontiers based on a defined allegiance of tribes was to be sorely tested when it came to the actual application. Additional treaties were required for mutual assistance in the handling of tribal affairs on the frontier with their further gestures of friendship and good-will, covering practical issues incidentally involved. The agreed basis of tribal allegiance as a standpoint from which to consider the definition of frontiers was found to entail more than appeared on the surface. The case would constantly arise of tribes of the other party migrated across the borders. There could be no undertaking made to expel them on request of that party nor could any agreement afford to leave a loop-hole for restriction by one party on the migration of the tribes of the other. The allegiance of tribes needed to be more of an established fact before frontiers could be worked out in accordance with it; and this allegiance which was to determine so much was greatly questioned in view of the nomadic nature of the tribes; tribal allegiance seemed at times to be an insufficient foundation upon which to build a permanent frontier.

The history of the main negotiations to set up Border Commissions to create arbitration, and supplementary agreements having some show of seeking the implementation of articles of previous agreements or else simply recapitulating them, is given in chronological order.

It should be remembered that the existence of tribes prone to raiding, whose Diras overlap the frontier and who are in touch with other tribes similarly placed makes the task of frontier administration extremely difficult. It is not always easy to establish beyond doubt just on which side of the frontier the tribe was settled when the "raid" which is more in the nature of thieving, took place. This type of raiding is also done, but to a much lesser degree, by tribes who send the booty back into Sa'udia. The chief offenders, however, are such as Shammar sections who even "raid" from the Sa'udi side and send the booty to their relatives in 'Iraq who dispose of these tall-tale branded camels in the Jazira of Mosul; or the Rufai' and the Badur on their return to the Jazira of Diwaniya who take the loot with them. The Dhafir are in the habit of disposing of camels they steal, in the Jazira of Bani Lam.

After several false starts, on the 17th. December 1925, a conference with delegates from Najd, 'Iraq and Transjordan met at Kuwait under the presidency of Colonel S.G. Knox who had recently been acting as Resident in the Persian Gulf.

Proceedings dragged on without any agreement.

Towards the end of the 1925 Summer, a further effort was made to settle outstanding questions by arbitration. Sir Gilbert Clayton went in September on an official mission to Jidda, which resulted in the Bahra agreement, signed on the 1st of November.

At the same time 'Iraqi and Najdi delegates agreed on a formula for the settlement of claims and counter-claims arising out of raids of the past. About this time, Ibn Sa'ud was reported to have issued orders to the Governors of Ha-il and Hasa forbidding raids against 'Iraq.

The Bahra agreement sought to make the necessary arrangements for the establishment and operation of a special tribunal and to regulate the passage of tribes across the frontier and to manage them when on the territory of the other party.

CHAPTER V

1924-1935

1924

The Ikhwan had not been inactive all this time. Early in 1924, prior to the distraction caused them by Ibn Sa'udi's campaign against the Hajaz, raids were carried out in the Spring on Shawriya Tribes such as the Chalidh at Juraibi'at, on Chabsha and Shibil, north east of Ansab and raiding at Quair, near the river by Ha-if al Shuqair al Dawish (Mutair) on the Dhafir (Suwait) and Shammar tribesmen in that vicinity.

On 18th January, 1925, Abu Ghar Port was garrisoned with 'Iraqi army troops and the wireless station installed in pursuance of the scheme evolved for the defence of the tribes and giving early warning of the movements of the raiding parties. Patrols by aircraft were carried out throughout the period during which the tribes were grazing in the desert. A large scale clash occurred between united Dhafiri forces (Sanidda and Butun) and the 'Amarat (Dahamsha and Jabal) forces. Various Shammar sections in the vicinity, such as the Junaish of the Aslam, took the field with the Dhafir while (Ali Shuwairbat (Mutair-Buraih) the secessionist-Ikhwan leader, with odd tribesmen of the 'Ajman, the Mutair and the 'Ataiba sided with the 'Amarat Shaikhs. (During this period, the late king Faisal was the patron of these secessionist leaders from Najd who had taken up residence with the 'Amarat in the northern desert). The 'Amarat forces were driven by the pursuing Dhafir (with the exception of the 'Oraif division of the Dhafir who did not take part) to the vicinity of Shaqra. In this engagement sons of the houses of Mijlad, Bakar and Hadh-dhal from the 'Amarat were killed.

It was towards the end of the Summer of the year that the Bahara agreement was negotiated at Jidda.

From 1925, the diplomacy and statesmanship of the Sultan of Najd in the handling of his tribal forces was to be tested to the limit-well nigh the breaking point -. Following hard upon the Hajaz campaign, in 1925, Ikhwan leaders such as Faisal al Dawish (the 'Alwa of the Mutair), Sultan al Humaid (the 'Utaiba), Farhan al Mash-hur (the Ruwalla), Murdhi al Arfidhi (the 'Amarat of the 'Anaza - the Saloa sub-section of the Jabal Division), Nida ibn Nuhayyar of the 'Abda Shammar and Dhaidan ibn Hithlain were conspiring together - Ibn Humaid to rule the Hijaz; Ibn Dawish, 'Aridh (the vicinity of Riyadh), Ibn Nahayyir, Jabal Shammar; Ibn Mash-hur, Jauf; Ibn Hithlain, Hasa -. They began to question the whole policy of Ibn Sa'ud who was hard put to it, through his special diplomatic channels, to arrange meetings with these leaders and better his relations where he could.

1925-1926

At this the allegiance of the Dahamsha 'Anaza was brought somewhat into question. The Governor of Ha-il, Ibn Musa'id was endeavouring once more to establish the right of the Najdi Government to act in the affairs of the Dahamsha. When Mohd. al Turki (April 1927 against the advice of Ha-il raided the Suqur section of the Jabal of the 'Amarat, he was looted by Ruwalla and Shammar Tribesmen. The majority of the loot however was recovered on representation made to Ha-il by the Administrative Inspector of the SOUTHERN Desert.

1926

The auguries for 1926 appeared good until a complaint was received from Ibn Sa'ud that he had no answer to letters of his regarding the return of loot taken by tribes of Iraq and Transjordan and that he might be unable to restrain his tribes from raiding after Ramadhan, which in 1926 fell on April. The Acting High Commissioner replied that the only outstanding case was a raid carried out early in 1925 and that the Iraq Government was making every effort to find the culprit. Other complaints could not be dealt with owing to their vagueness. In conclusion it was suggested that the proper course would be the immediate constitution of the tribunal for inquiring into acts of frontier aggression, which was referred to in the Bahara Agreement. Ibn Sa'ud eventually agreed to correspondence being initiated between frontier officials in order to facilitate settlement of disputes.

At this time came the move of some of the Shammar, who had taken up their abode in the Jazira of Iraq, into Syria with the avowed object of raiding Najd from there. Raids took place in July and August, the culprits being Shammar Tribes from Syrian and Iraq.

On the 5th. of October a party 200 strong under Shibram ibn Jabban of the Janidda Section from the Shammar ('Abda) came down from the direction of Syria into Kuwait where they succeeded in capturing several hundred camels from the 'Awazim. On their return journey they were considerably harassed by aircraft and later, some of them having meanwhile lost their loot to a party of Dahamsha of the 'Amarat ('Anaza) who turned out to intercept them, about 35 were engaged by armoured cars and police 4-miles east of Rutbah. Of the whole party 29 were killed, 26 taken prisoners and in addition a large number were wounded.

As a result of a repeated request by the High Commissioner, Ibn Sa'ud eventually agreed to a meeting of the frontier tribunal to settle outstanding questions in accordance with article 2 of the Bahara Agreement. In March, 1927, his representatives arrived in Kuwait but the meeting was unavoidably postponed until the 20th of November and subsequent events prevented it being held at all.

1927.

In 1927, began the establishment by Ibn Sa'ud of relations with certain of the Dhafir sections. Considerable favour was shown them by the King. 'Ujaimi al Suwait who was put forward by him as the paramount Shaikh of the Dhafir has never returned. No incident of importance took place during the Summer and advantage was taken of the lull to strengthen the control of the tribes of the Southern Desert. As part of this scheme a small police post was established at Busaiya. Letters of protest against this post were received from Ibn Sa'ud in September and October, but it appeared from his reference to a rumoured project for laying a railway to Busaiya that he had been entirely misinformed as to the object of the Abu Ghar, Busaiya and Al Qusair posts, the existence and object of which had been explained to him in a despatch from the Acting High Commissioner in August. His Majesty contented in his second letter of protest that the erection of these posts constituted a contravention of Article 3 of the Uqair Protocol No. 1.

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In September, it was reported that Faisal al Dawish had threatened to lead his warriors against the post, and arrangements for bi-monthly visits by aircraft were made. Beyond Ibn Sa'ud's official protest nothing occurred until the night of 5th-6th November, when a party of about 100 Mutairis attacked the uncompleted post and murdered all the occupants with the exception of one police man, who made his escape, and one who was wounded and left for dead. Aerial reconnaissances were carried out on 6th. November, but the raiders were not located. They were unhampered by loot and made good their escape.

Raids, accompanied by the usual savagery of the Akhwan, took place on the 9th. and 17th. December, and in spite of promises to punish the culprits no effective action was taken by Ibn Sa'ud.

One raid, one month after the attack on Busaiya, had for its victims Shammar ('Abda) and 'Uqailiyin (camel) traders from Najd who were among the tribes buying camels at that time in the vicinity of the Batn.

1928

A combined force of aircraft and armoured cars was accordingly formed on 9th. January, 1928 with Headquarters at Ur Junction and advanced detachments at Busaiya and Salman Wells, and, later, at Kuwait.

Extensive patrols by aircraft and armoured cars were carried out from the advanced bases up to and beyond the actual frontier with a view to obtaining early warning of the appearance of a raiding party and reassuring the Iraqi tribes who had been much shaken by the raid of November and December. There was even a fear that the whole of the 'Anaza might sever their connection with Iraq and depart to Syria or elsewhere. More than half of the Dhafir were already in Najd.

Notwithstanding the weakening effect of the air and armoured cars action on the confidence of the raiders, there followed raids on Kuwait tribes by 'Ali al 'Ashwan of the Mutair (Buraih) when the forces of the Shaikh of Kuwait (consisting also of the 'Ajman who were with him at that time) and armoured cars pursued the raiders. There were considerable casualties on both sides.

Other parties of Mutair (Ilwa) under Faisal al Dawish and Ibn Shuqair were circling about south of the frontier. Later (February, 1928) a raid was made on the Jawarin near Jarishan on the Iraqi-Kuwait borders by a larger force (over 2000) with Faisal Dawish and his son 'Uzayyiz, Jasir al Lami and Talla' al Hanaya (Mutair-Buraih).

At this stage, Faisal al Dawish was seeking to negotiate with the Amir of Kuwait for supplies of which he was rumoured to be very short.

Signs were not lacking to suggest that the situation had got right out of Ibn Sa'ud's control. The Mutair and the 'Ajman under Dhaidan al Hithlain and the 'Utaiba under Sultan al Humaid all seemed to be passing for attack. Ibn Sa'ud had gained a ruling of the Akhwan 'Ulama against the action of Faisal al Dawish.

The King's policy seemed to be undergoing a change. Ibn Jalawi's forces which had been reported to be advancing to punish Ibn Shuqair were withdrawn; protests had been registered by the Sa'udi Government against the action taken by aircraft across the Najd frontier and Ibn Sa'ud was reported to be giving his assent to raiding by the 'Utaiba and the other large tribes.

Letters were sent from Ha-il to such of the Dahamsha who followed Ibn Sa'ud, to the Shammar and to the Dhafir under 'Ujani al Suwait ordering them to move south to the vicinity of Ha-il (two thirds of the Dahamsha however, remained in Iraq with Mohd. al Turki).

No raiding happened at this time. Khalid al Luwaiy an ex-Sharifiyan of great influence with the 'Utaiba was able to turn Ibn Humaid from his purpose to accompany the Mutair on a raiding campaign when the 'Uraiba were concentrated at Shaqra near Riyadh. The Mutair, however, were showing some disinclination to join the 'Utaiba in raids and were suffering in morale after their last pounding by aircraft.

The rumoured amalgamation of the large tribes such as the 'Utaiba with the 'Ajman and of concentrations of the Harb under Muhsin al Firm had the effect of clearing the desert of tribal life along the 'Iraq borders.

The reported venue of the tribal conferences of Khalid al Luwaiy was the Headquarters of Muhsin al Firm, where Sa'ud al 'Arafa a relative of the King was present. The King himself arranged a conference for the leading Shaikhs of the Harb, 'Utaiba and 'Ajman at Buraida, when on his way to meet with representatives of his Majesty's Government at Jidda towards the end of April, 1928. At the conference where the Idhwan were camped six miles outside Buraida, with Ibn Kusa'id the Governor of Ha-il, and Ibn Salim who was a religious leader acting as intermediaries, the King seemed to score a marked diplomatic victory and asked for a "show down" after managing to justify his use of cars, wireless, etc., the innovations of the "Infidel". Then sensing his victory, he ordered all back to their homes, which order they obeyed without demur.

By May, conditions were considered sufficiently normal in the desert for the withdrawal of all cars and aircraft detachments of the R.A.F. from their temporary bases at Shabicha, Salman and Busaiya. The detachments were also withdrawn from Kuwait.

Negotiations between Sir Gilbert Clayton, assisted by the representatives of the Iraqi Government, and Ibn Sa'ud, opened at Jidda on 8th. May, were postponed to 20th May and re-opened on 30th July. No settlement of the main question, namely, the establishment of the desert posts, was reached, as Ibn Sa'ud maintained that his tribes regarded the existence of the posts as a direct threat to themselves.

On 2nd June, 1928, the Imam Abdul Rahman, the father of the King of Najd, died, and an early resumption of the Jidda conference was requested on the ground that family affairs as well as affairs of state demanded His Majesty's early presence in Riyadh. Much was expected from a great meeting of Najd leaders, which was to take place soon after the middle of August, when Ibn Sa'ud would announce the results of his conversations with Sir Gilbert Clayton.

During the month of Ibn SA'UD's visit to Jidda a raid carried out by Ibn Hanaya on the Dahamsha near Salwan was repudiated by Ibn Dawish and the loot restored with the exception of a number of camels, a Mutairi caravan having been detained at Zubair pending the full settlement of the case.

The news of the break-down of the Jidda conference, however, had a somewhat disturbing effect which was noticeable in the defiant attitude of the Mutair towards Ibn Sa'ud; they now were reported as raiding against other Najdi Tribes.

In the autumn fighting occurred between the Mutair and the 'Ajman; Sultan al Humaid of the Utaiba was championing the latter's cause. There was internal fighting in the 'Utaiba itself due to the rivalry of Ibn Rubai'an, supported by Ibn Sa'ud, against Sultan al Humaid. The King had also issued orders for the non-Ikhwan settlements such as 'Anaiza and Buraida to raise military forces.

Another tribal council was called on September at Riyadh and all Ikhwan personalities were summoned. In reporting the result of his conversations at Jidda, when referring to the questions of the Forts, he said he had "much more important matters to discuss."

1929

The opening of 1929 saw sporadic raids in Najd on the Dahamsha tribes in the vicinity of the Batn who were now inclined to take refuge in Iraq. Shammar tribes were also raided near Lina. The Najdi tribes were becoming definitely fearful of raiding into Iraq.

The policy of the Sultan of Najd was increasingly to make Najd quite self-contained and self-reliant. There appeared to be a definite stiffening of his attitude on Sa'udo-Kuwait relations. He began the strengthening of his economic campaign and rigorous customs control to bring Shaikh Ahmad al SUBBAH to realise his dependence upon him. His blockade and embargo on all exports and imports to and from Kuwait was enforced with harshness. His armed forces encroached on Kuwaiti territory with this end in view. This policy towards Kuwait was pursued until the attempted coup de main of 1939, inspired from Iraq when Ibn Sa'ud's helpfulness knew no bounds and his policy was required to undergo a change to counter these imperialistic aims of Kuwait's other neighbouring state.

Ibn Jaluwi, Ibn Sa'ud's representative at Hasa was experiencing some trouble at this time and had his forces weakened by Mutairi raiders who got the better of him.

Attacks were made by Ibn Shuqair Mutair ('Ilwa) on Bani Malik in Kuwait territory. He was pursued and badly broken up by armed forces from Iraq. 'Ajman under Ibn Hithlain and 'Utaiba under Ibn Humaid were out on raids. At the end of March, contrary to expectations Ibn Sa'ud seriously took up arms against the recalcitrant chiefs of the 'Utaiba and 'Ajman. The clash involving some 6000 armed men on either side occurred at Sibilla near to Zilfi, southern side of the Dahana. The forces of the King included portions

of the 'Utaiba, Shammar and Harb which were divided into two contingents under Muhsin al Firm (Harb) and Ibn Rubai'an ('Utaiba). Faisal al Dawish and Ibn Humaid offered to submit but the King demanded their trial by a religious court. Faisal al Dawish was wounded. Ibn Humaid, pursued by Muhsin al Firm, was cut off from the help he might have raised in the Hijaz. A second force under Ibn Musa'id left Ha-il with the object of bringing in Farhan al Mash-hur who was reported at Jauf with 400 refugees of the involved at Lina in a clash with mixed Shammar sections whom they had set out to raid, were intercepted by the forces of Ibn Musa'id with whom was now Nida Ibn Nihayyir (Shammar). In the ensuing battle, about the 5th of September, Nida and a number of Ibn Musa'id's men were killed but almost the entire company of 'Uzaiyir al Dawish was wiped out, he himself being killed. Ibn Sa'ud at this time was much occupied with trouble in the area west of Najd and the Hijaz. Khalid al Luwaiy was involved in a punitive expedition against the 'Utaiba.

In November, large eastward movements of Ibn Sa'ud's forces were reported under Muhsin al Firm and Shammar leaders such as Ghadhban Ibn Rammal and Mishal Ibn Tawala (Aslam). In the Qasim district Ibn Sa'ud was able to release 2,000 and to raise three Bairaqs (standards) and Mohammad al 'Arafa arrived with 3,000 followers at Hafar. The rebels moved north towards Kuwait into the Shaqq depression.

In pursuance of the British Government's policy of fulfilling obligations to Ibn Sa'ud and of assisting Ibn Subah to free his territory of rebel 'Ajman and Mutair, two sections of armoured cars were sent to Jahrah on 2nd, December to co-operate with the Political Agent and with patrols organized by the Shaikh of Kuwait for this purpose.

In view of the obvious reluctance of the rebels to comply with orders given for the evacuation of Kuwaiti territory and to ensure a continuation of this southerly movement, patrols were made down the Batin by two sections of armoured cars despatched from Iraq. Contact was made on the 17th of December by Iraqi Police cars on patrol with leaders such as Faisal al Dawish, Farhan al Mash-hur and 'Ali Ibn 'Ashwan (Mutair-Burath). They again expressed their friendly attitude towards Iraq and His Majesty's Government.

On 17th December, a party from Ibn Sa'ud arrived at Kuwait and contacted the Political Agent with a desire to co-operate. Some clashes occurred late in December when Harb contingents with the Shammar and Dhafir made contact with Mutair near 'Aujat al Batin and routed them.

On the 2nd. of January, Nayif al Hidlain and Faisal al Dawish were brought into the armoured car camp to the Administrative Inspector of the Southern Desert. Ibn Mash-hur and Ibn Rafidhi had already submitted. They were looked on as Iraqi subjects. Terms which amounted to unconditional surrender to the Iraqi Government were offered the rebel leaders. When these terms were considered to be rejected by them on expiry of the ultimatum which was given, Ibn Hidlain and al Dawish were again brought in by the armoured cars. Negotiations were made between His Majesty's Political Resident in the Persian Gulf, on the 20th January, when he landed with six aircraft accompanied by a Staff Officer of the Royal Air Force at Ibn Sa'ud's camp at Khubari Wadh-ha. Various

assurances were given by Ibn Sa'ud and a provisional agreement made on treatment to be meted out to the offenders and compensation to be paid to the Iraqi Government. Faisal al Dawish, Jasir Ibn Iani and Nayif Ibn Hithlain were flown to Ibn Sa'ud's camp. 'Ali al 'Ashwan was killed in the course of the clashes which occurred earlier. Arrangements were mutually made between Ibn Sa'ud and His Majesty King Faisal, the late King of Iraq, initiated by the latter, for their meeting together.

The armoured cars of the Royal Air Force, in charge of the refugee tribesmen in Kuwait, were in a somewhat difficult position. The Najdi tribesmen had with them large numbers of camels and sheep which they had looted in former raids from Iraqi tribes who were now camped only a few miles away. The armoured cars had therefore to act as protectors as well as guards of the Najdis. It was unfortunate that in the circumstances the British Forces, whom the Iraqi tribes of the Southern Desert Area had begun to look upon as their helpers and protectors, should appear to them as unjustly preventing them from recovering their stolen property.

On the morning of the 8th of February, the stragglers remaining from the rebel forces had crossed the borders of Kuwait and the situation was beginning to return to normal. Although on several occasions letters were sent to the Political Agent in which he warmly commended the action taken by the British Forces in the eviction of his rebellious subject from Kuwait, a later message from Ibn Sa'ud stated that he did not consider the British Government would have fulfilled obligations in full until all the defaulting Shaikhs had been rounded up and every rebel returned to Najd.

After the initiation of discussions by the representatives of the two Governments and the meeting between Faisal and Ibn Sa'ud negotiations were carried on between the Iraqi Prime Minister, Nuri Pasha al Sa'id and His Royal Highness Amir Faisal Ibn Sa'ud's Viceroy and Minister for Foreign Affairs. A Treaty called "The Treaty of Friendship and Bon Voisinage between Iraq and Hijaz, Najd and Dependencies," with an annexed "Protocol of Arbitration" was concluded in April 1931 and ratified by the Iraqi Senate and Chamber of Deputies, 16th May 1931.

The Treaty expresses the determination of both parties mutually to preserve "inviolable peace and true friendship" and reverts to the practical issue of how best to co-operate to prevent tribes using the border of the neighbouring country as cover for the perpetuation of unlawful acts in the Zone in the neighbourhood of the frontiers of the two kingdoms. It also limits the intrusion of officialdom of one country into the territory of the other.

The Protocol outlines the machinery which officialdom of both parties will use in cooperation on frontier administration.

An "Extradition Treaty" which had been negotiated and concluded on the 8th of April 1931, was also ratified on the 16th May. It is described as "relative to the surrender of offenders, fugitives from justice, who escape from the kingdom of Iraq into the kingdom of Hijaz, Najd and Dependencies and from the kingdom of Hijaz, Najd and Dependencies into the kingdom of Iraq."

The treaty goes on to describe the distinction between other offenders and political offenders whose surrender is not permissible. It further defines the procedure and details of representation by the one Government to the other for the surrender of these offenders.

In February 1931, Ibn Sa'ud accepted the contention of the Iraqi Government regarding the remaining amount of compensation (£ 10,000 of which had already been handed over) to be paid by Ibn Sa'ud to Iraq for the past raids.

The blockade of Kuwait markets by the Sultan of Najd was unrelaxed. He went as far as to issue a proclamation to the effect that Shammar and Dhafir sections informing against Najdi caravans engaged in illegal trade with Iraq or Kuwait would be rewarded. This year was quiet tribally except for some thieving of about 20 head of camels (probably from the Harb) carried out by Shammar section who made off to the Jazira of Iraq.

1932

In February the question of the practical application of the frontier delimitation according to the 'Uqair protocol began to come to the fore. By order of Ibn Musa'id of Ha'il a frontier post was established at Judaidat al 'Ar'ar, which according to article 1 (d) of the protocol of 'Uqair is specified as a point in the line of the frontier which in this regard suffered through over or too early delimitation. Article 1(b) of the Treaty of Muhammarah lays down the principle that, in settling the frontier, the lands and wells of "Shammar Najd" should be included in Najd and those of the Muntafiq, Dhafir and 'Amarat should be included in 'Iraq. Judaidat al 'Ar'ar is an 'Amarat well. However, it was thought best by the Iraqi Government not to draw attention to these controversial points by claiming Judaidat al 'Ar'ar as belonging to the 'Amarat. But, as the Najdi officials were functioning inside Iraq, using the post as a base and seeking to exact the taxes from the 'Amarat of Ibn Hadh-dhal on the grounds that they might cross the borders, representation was made to the Saudi Minister in the Hijaz on the ground that their presence at a well in the vicinity of the frontier was a contravention of Article 3 of the Protocol of 'Uqair. Iraqi Police cars were sent out to the area to protect the interests of the 'Amarat.

In February there occurred a clash between the Dahamsha under Mohammad al Turki and the Shammar (Tuman) under Mishal al Timyat over watering rights to the well at 'A'a. Hammad al Timyat and the eldest son of Mohd. al Turki were killed, together with others. On this occasion, the Dahamsha moved into Najd and joined Jazza' al Mijlad, while the Tuman moved east and later to Najd where Mishal remained for several years. Correspondence between the Saudi Government and Sheikhs in Iraq such as Jazza' Ibn Mijlad who were wont to cross temporarily into Iraq was being exchanged at this time.

This year, large caravans from Qasim and Central Najd visited Zubair and reported the embargo to be lifted as far as trade with Iraq was concerned.

1933

Diplomatic relations with Sa'udia were maintained on a friendly basis throughout the year. Ibn Sa'ud had been engaged over the end of the previous year with quelling the Hashimite revolt in the Hajaz; this year he was much pre-occupied in affairs to the south of his Kingdom.

The policy of the King in the blockade of Kuwait had brought an economic crisis upon that State. Kuwait was said to have lost 75% of its trade and customs revenue through the blockade. At the same time the position of the Shaikh of Kuwait in respect of his untaxable date gardens in Iraq was being made increasingly difficult and this also affected British prestige because of his agreement on this point with H.M.G.

The Sultan of Najd was definitely out for nothing less than complete control of his borders. Later in the year it was hinted that Ibn Sa'ud had certain proposals to offer Shaikh Ahmad, among which was one to raise the customs tariff of Kuwait to that ruling in his own dominion, notwithstanding that the Shaikh's treaty with His Majesty's Government forbids this.

In the desert, some attempt was being made at discussions between Sa'udi and Iraqi desert officials, with a view to settlement-making for past raids and to study the whole problem of inter-tribal raiding. To this end the Commandant of the Southern Desert visited Mohammad Sudairi, Governor of Jauif.

1934

The year 1934 was quiet throughout. Diplomatic relations remained on a friendly basis, except for a minor incident when a complaint that Ibn Sa'ud's representative in Baghdad was supporting subversive activity in Najaf and Kerbala and had instigated articles in the local press disparaging to the Amir Abdallah was passed on in such a tactless manner that Ibn Sa'ud took umbrage and suggested the immediate withdrawal of the Minister from Baghdad. The matter was smoothed over, however.

His Majesty, the late King Ghazi, now the successor of his father who died the previous year, the very antithesis of his father, took little interest in the affairs of the desert.

1935

In June of this year, Sa'udi delegates and entourage - some 80 persons - arrived at Kuwait for a conference on the blockade of the Kuwaiti-Najd frontier. The high handed attitude and suggestions of the Sa'udis could not but steer the conference on to the rocks. Indeed, it was believed that the whole arrangement - the large, armed entourage, etc. - was more a show of Ibn Sa'ud's importance than anything else, prompted by his pique when a recent transgression of armed Sa'ud officials upon Kuwait territory had required His Majesty's Government to protest through their Minister at Jidda. Ibn Sa'ud's stocks in Kuwait public opinion were standing very high at this time. It was beginning to be evident that the blockade would have eventually to be lifted. The King's representatives at the Kuwait-Sa'udi Conference had touched on the possibility of Ibn Sa'ud's building frontier Customs-posts to tax all imports from Najd to Kuwait.

CHAPTER VI

1936 Onwards.

1936

Negotiations for the framing of a treaty between his country and Iraq were opened by Yusuf al Yasin, Ibn Sa'ud representative who arrived in Baghdad in mid January for this purpose.

The treaty, eventually signed on the 2nd April and known as the Treaty of "Arab Brotherhood and Alliance," was of far wider scope than the nebulous pacts of friendship and non-aggression the mass-production of which seemed to have become a fashionable pastime amongst the diplomats of the East at that time.

After agreeing on the concerted effort of the two States to repel any aggression threatening either, what constituted an act of aggression was outlined (it was agreed by the high contracting parties that there was nothing in the present treaty to prejudice the rights and undertakings of the Government of Iraq under the covenant of the League of Nations and the Treaty of Alliance concluded between Iraq and Great Britain on 30th January, 1930). Provision for military missions was also made and the co-ordination of the educational systems.

Further discussions took place between the two countries towards the end of the year when Dr. Najî al Asil, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of that date, visited Sa'udi Arabia; and the Treaty of "Arab Brotherhood and Alliance" was ratified.

1937

This was the year of protracted negotiations. The need for discussion of the practical considerations which emerged from time to time and the further lengthy negotiations required in consequence rankled more and more in the mind of Ibn Sa'ud. To him these were nothing more than attempts at obstruction and it was probably not unfair to say that the Iraqi Government has regarded these negotiations as annoying and uninteresting distractions. However, the difficulties which have resulted from time to time over the past seven years or so might well have been reduced, on more than one occasion, had the Government of Iraq shown a more definite interest in the affairs of the desert generally. Issues which, if cleared up, usually pave the way to further understanding and which are normally solved by regard of the elementary rules governing neighbourly relations of states dragged on because the desert, as far as the Government of Iraq was concerned, was often considered as a sort of "No-man's Land". Critical issues have been ignored and the requisite administrative action has been denied until, after much painful correspondence between the two countries, negotiations have been initiated for yet another treaty or agreement. There is little doubt that a show of some real intention on the part of the Government of Iraq to deal thoroughly with these issues of frontier administration would deprive the Sultan of Najd of the excuse for the exasperation he so definitely expresses. But this presupposes the existence of a much wiser and more virile administration in the desert than it seems Iraq is able to afford or to produce at the present time.

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In the Treaty of Muhammara, Article 1, the tribes of the Muntafiq, the Dhafir and the 'Amarat were defined as 'Iraqi; the "Shammar Najd" as Sa'udi. On numerous occasions over the following twenty years, however,, King Abd al 'Aziz has claimed the Dahamsha ('Amarat) as Sa'udi subjects, basing his claim on Article 1 of the Second Protocol of 'Uqair and the allegation that the chief of the tribe, Jazza' Ibn Mijlad was at that date in Syria and in 1923 went to Najd. The Iraqi Government have rejected this claim on the grounds (a) that the article of the protocol mentioned covers only tribes not then subject to either party whereas the Iraqi citizenship of the Dahamsha was already fixed by the Treaty itself, and (b) that in any case the tribe was camped in Iraq and the temporary absence of a Shaikh could not affect the allegiance of the tribe as a whole.

The problems so vexing to Ibn Sa'ud were how to control his tribes when they crossed into Iraqi territory, then that of the establishment and actualization of their nationality and finally, with true reversion to type, how the Sa'udi Government could force Iraq virtually to adopt the role of a frontier police force for them, and to drive back the tribes into Sa'udi when required and allow the Sa'udi officials access to the tribes in Iraq.

1938

Treaties were negotiated and drawn up and signed in May 1938 by Tawfiq al Suwaidi, Prime Minister of Iraq and Shaikh Yusif al Yasin.

There was one treaty with a mischievous clause allowing servants of one State to enter the territory of the other for the purpose of collecting taxes. In the course of the correspondence Sa'udi Government feelings, as usual, ran very high.

The other Treaty "concerning the allegiance of Tribes," which was described in quarters qualified to judge by such words as "vicious and contains the seeds of future troubles and friction far more serious than any momentary irritation caused by the refusal to ratify," sought to open the way for a change of nationality for Dahamsha and Dhafir tribesmen continuing to settle for a period in Sa'udi Arabia and similarly for the "Shammar Najd" who continued to settle for a fixed period in Iraq. Then these newly nationalised tribesmen of either State from Dhafir and Shammar would be disallowed approach to the frontiers of the two States. By this treaty the Dahamsha could change their nationality by unbroken residence for the requisite period and then spend most of their time in Iraq.

As in all Ibn Sa'uds thinking on these matters there is no place at all for the idea of 'Iraq handling tribal affairs, his attitude in every incident where tribes transgress and use the 'Iraqi frontier as cover is to use this as further proof that the whole state of affairs is utterly wrong. This covers all rights to tribal control as far as he is concerned, the whole sphere and method of control and, eventually, the matter of frontiers itself.

During this year, much dissatisfaction arose in Kuwait at the autocratic nature of the Government generally and with Shaikh Ahmad in particular, fostered by certain subversive elements.

His Highness was obliged to permit the formation of an advisory council, a thing which had been previously suggested from British official quarters.

The coming of the new and more modern order of things which followed in Kuwait public life was not without its strain on internal security generally. Early in August matters came to a head when the activity of ambitious persons threatened to wreck the ship of state.

1939

Iraq at this time had been showing an "over-neighbourly" interest in the affairs and internal administration of the principality of Kuwait and insinuations were being made that the principality/reality was an integral part of Iraq - the 15th Liwa.

Pan-Arabists, German-inspired, through the medium of the local press of Iraq, described most of the various Shaikhs ruling principalities in co-operation with His Majesty's Government, as "Bloody Tyrants", pandering to British Imperialistic aims. They seized upon every frontier incident in Kuwait in connection with smuggling, as a permanent threat to Iraq, then pictured the brave Kuwaiti people longing to be embraced into "Greater Iraq." The trouble-mongers were not without the co-operation of Kuwaiti Political agitators, arriving in Baghdad about this time. The part played by the Late King Ghazi, especially immediately prior to his death (3rd April) was as mischievous as it was unfortunate. Similarly it was felt that little reliance could be placed on the Prime Minister of that time (Nuri Pasha as Sa'id) not to interfere in matters outside his sphere.

It was well reported that during the absence of Nuri Pasha in London, specific instructions either from King Ghazi or Rashid Ali al Gailani at the Palace had been given to the Mutassarraf of Basra to recruit locally sufficient forces to seize Jahra in order that, aided by the malcontents of Kuwait, the Coup de Main referred to earlier might be effected. Ibn Sa'ud, as already indicated elsewhere, was near at hand and very watchful of proceedings. His telegram of congratulations, amongst others, was sent to Shaikh Ahmad on his resolute action in the summary despatch of the ex-Kuwaiti who came from Iraq and attempted sedition in the town, in March. This person was immediately tried and publicly hanged.

With the passage of the year, Iraq-Kuwaiti relations returned to normal. Negotiations between Najd and Iraq were dragging on. Due to the Iraqi Government's worry at the deterioration in its relations with Sa'udia Arabia, a delegation was sent to Riyadh in June. One of the main outstanding questions to be discussed had held up the work of the border commissions. Ibn Sa'ud insisted on the equal division of the wells at Mugur which were specified in Article 1 (d) of the protocol of 'Uqair as a point in the line of the frontier. They are a chain of wells extending about 120 Kms back from the frontier and were, as in the case of Judaidat al 'Ar'ar considered as Dahamsha wells and thus also effected by the ruling of ARTICLE 1 (b) of the Treaty of Muhammarah. The Iraqi Government, however, accepted the Sa'ud point of view in this matter, for the sake of uninterrupted continuation of the survey.

At this time it was felt that, if some effort were not made at discussion on the various questions including settlement of raids and that of certain Shammar Shaikhs whom Ibn Sa'ud claimed should be returned to Najd, the Iraq Government might be faced with a series of tip-and-run raids in the Southern Desert somewhat reminiscent of those of 1928. Ibn Sa'ud held one of his comprehensive tribal meetings at Riyadh in August 1939 when the conference agreed to have a number of religious Shaikhs perambulating among their tribes for the purpose of "stimulating religious feeling," and it was decided to revive the King's scheme for the settling of the Nomadic tribes as was begun in

the Ikhwan movement. The King made a statement on the relations with Iraq. A resolution was taken deprecating what was described as pro-paganda disseminated by the Iraqi Government amongst the Shammar and Mutair tribes aimed at encouraging them to take refuge in Iraq (it is admitted that tribes from Sa'udia had "probably been encouraged" by Iraqi Desert Officials. An added inducement to the tribes was the fact that since the introduction in Iraq of Istihlak tax on flocks and herbs when revenue is collected at markets and not in the desert, the tribes contrive to settle in Iraq to avoid Ibn Sa'ud's Zikat or tax levied annually on head of cattle and sheep. The Sa'udi Government would like to see taxes collected from the Sa'udi tribes in Iraq paid over to the Sa'udi Authorities). The King stated that "He expected shortly the establishment of a more stable Government in Iraq." Mention was made of the progress of the border survey and the agreement reached between the two countries for future negotiations on border-fixing. (The Iraqi Government's attitude, however, is that arbitration is necessary, to decide ownership of such border points as Judaidat al 'Ar'ar). At this conference Ibn Sa'ud stated that he had agreed with Iraq to allow the Shammar and Dhafir tribesmen themselves to determine whether they would become subjects of Iraq or Hajd; those who elected to become the subjects of Iraq would be settled beyond the Euphrates or in some other place remote from the Iraq-Sa'udi frontier, whilst those electing to remain subject to the Sa'udi Kingdom would be compelled to settle beyond the Dahana Desert.

1940

On the 6th. January a "violently worded" answer from Ibn Sa'ud was received to a letter couched in "studiously friendly" language explaining the reasons for the Iraqi Parliaments refusal to ratify the treaties under discussion and proposing amendments. The Sa'udi Government's letter ended, in regard to the matter of the treaty on allegiance of tribes, by a demand for the adoption of one of three alternatives; viz, ratification, return of the Shammar to Sa'udi territory or their removal to beyond the Euphrates. A threat was also included to publish all correspondence and a distinction was inferred to exist in what was the "Government and the people of Iraq."

The Iraqi answer, apart from seeking to justify the Iraqi Government's position and refute the charges made, asked for names of the offending Shammar sections and also agreed to adopt the procedure for settlements as laid down in Article 3 and 9 of the Treaty of Mecca or "Friendship and Bon Voisinage."

These grievances, given good will on both sides, were capable of amicable settlement, but unfortunately the real causes of friction lay deeper than this. Indeed, the disdain with/the King viewed Iraqi politicians, especially of this kind, the slow growth of personal animosity between Ibn Sa'ud and Nuri Pasha, the annoyance of the former at Iraqi's dominant influence in Arabian affairs and his fear that a member of the Hashimite family might be given the Syrian throne, were, as now, the real stumbling blocks to good relations between the two countries. The animosity between Nuri Pasha and Ibn Sa'ud was brought to a head by the publication, in the Egyptian newspaper "Al Ahram" of a report stating that Nuri Pasha had recently received a letter from King Ibn Sa'ud, reproaching him for 'Iraq's lack of moderation and tact in the support of the Arab cause in Palestine and Syria, and warning him that by seriously antagonising the British and French Governments the Arabs were exposing themselves to the risk of domination by Germany and Italy. Although, at the express wish of Ibn Sa'ud, the existence of any such letter was denied officially by the 'Iraqi Government, there was little doubt that Nuri Pasha did receive a letter from Ibn Sa'ud advising moderation by the 'Iraqi Government in its criticism of Great Britain and France, and that he showed it to the influential Syrian during their visit to Baghdad for the "Ta-abin Youm al Araba'in" (a mourning ceremony held 40 days after the death of a Moslem in which the dead is eulogised by his friends) in honour of King Ghazi. The fact

during this mourning ceremony, innumerable speeches were made praising the work of the Hashimite family in the Arab cause and that no mention was made of Ibn Sa'ud, did not improve relations between the 'Iraqi Prime Minister and the Sa'udi ruler. In view of the hostility between the Hashimite family and Ibn Sa'ud it is not surprising that the latter should view 'Iraqi propaganda for the union of Iraq and Syria with suspicion, and he is undoubtedly prepared to use all the influence at his command to prevent a member of the Hashimite family becoming ruler of Syria.

At the beginning of the year, the Sa'udi Government were informed in a secret letter that ratification had been granted by the Iraqi Chamber on 2nd August 1939 of the agreement on the Administration of the "Neutral Zone" between Iraq and Najd, which was negotiated and signed at Baghdad on 9th May 1936. A letter had been sent to H.H. the Amir Faisal, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Sa'udia by H.E. 'Ali Jawdat, the Iraqi Minister of Foreign Affairs at that time, in enlargement upon Article IV of this agreement which had been signed the previous year and ratified in August. The agreement was ratified by the Sa'udi Government on March 10th; and on 6th April, the Amir Faisal replied to the letter of the Iraqi Minister of Foreign Affairs on Article IV, which reply, together with the letter of the Iraqi Government, was to form the basis of an agreement for the suppression of smuggling.

An unfortunate incident occurred this year for 'Iraqi-Sa'udi relations when customs police, without cause, interfered with a caravan returning to Najd, carrying letters for Ibn Sa'ud, which were confiscated.

It might be fitting to mention here that Ibn Sa'ud has always had an uneasy feeling that, as his own control over the affairs of the country weakens with the advent of old age, there may be an attempt sponsored by 'Iraqi to recreate the Rashid Dynasty of Ha-il, and that the return of the Shammar of the Southern Desert to south of the frontier or alternatively their removal en bloc to the Northern Jazira would, to a considerable extent, obviate the danger. It is not unfair to say that the major part of Ibn Sa'ud's annoyance is expressed at the non-settlement of numerous minor incidents too trivial for him to outline studiously.

An Iraqi delegation headed by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of that time, Nuri Pasha as Sa'id, left Baghdad on 4th April for Ibn Sa'ud's camp at Riyadh. The outcome of the discussions which were held 4th - 6th April at Rawdhat al Tanhat was the drawing up of a new agreement on the conduct of frontier officials of each state in co-operation with those of the other. The outstanding point was the agreement of the Najd border (they were to be prevented from returning except on written permit from the Sa'udi Government).

In September the Shammar Shaikhs, Mishal al Timyat (born in the Hawija of Iraq), 'Ayyada al Timyat (both of the Tuman) and Nazil al Thunayyan (Sinjara) were returned to Ibn Sa'ud in chains, who, intensely gratified, assured them he only wished them to know he was master and that the land lay before them. The fourth Shaikh, Chasib al 'Abachli (Sinjara) escaped from Salmaan police post choosing to make his own way, with as much dignity as possible, to Ibn Sa'ud.

/ During

During this year, Kuwait tended to come once more before the political eye. Both Sa'udi Arabia and Iraq were apprehensive of the territorial aspirations of each other in this direction.

1941

1941, as Ibn Sa'ad himself is careful to point out, goes down as the year wherein he displayed the greatest respect for the rules governing neighbourly relations of states.

1942

A side light upon the state of relations between the countries of Iraq and Najd has not been better given than when the King, in March, used the good offices of his trusted friend, Shukri al Quwatli to present the point of view of the Najdi Government when passing through Baghdad. Shukri's answer to Nuri Pasha's expression of the desire of the Iraqi Government to see better relations between frontier officials and to his proposal for arbitration, was that this could not be possible as certain places referred to in Nuri Pasha's conversation clearly belonged by treaty to Sa'udia Arabia but that, nevertheless, the King would, as an act of grace and to promote understanding, concede equal rights to both countries in the matter of wells.

Sheikh HASAN al 'ALI

Sheikh HASAN al 'ALI, described as a cheery but somewhat irresponsible little "Sheikhling", is the son of the late Sheikh 'ASI al 'ALI, head of the ALBU SHAMIR section of the 'UBAID, a tribe living between the TIGRIS, the DIJLA and the Little AB. He is a first cousin of Sheikh MUHAMMAD SALIH ibn HUSAIN al 'ALI, the present paramount chief.

The squabble between the 'UBAID and the SHAMIR (both ARAB and TURK) is extremely involved, but briefly the facts are these :-

1. About 1918 DAHMAM al 'ABD al 'AZIZ of the 'UBAID murdered DHAMIR al MUHAMMADI of the SHAMIR JARBA, a first cousin of old Sheikh 'AJIL al YAWAR. In 1929 the murdered man's brother, SA'DUN, took his long delayed revenge by killing 'ASI al 'ALI (DAHMAM's uncle) on BALAD railway station. The 'UBAID replied with the murder of SA'DUN's uncle, FAISAL al FARHAN (the father of WATBAN NISHAN and the rest) in Rashid Street, Baghdad, the same year. In 1941 DAHMAM al 'ABD al 'AZIZ met his death at the hands of the police as noted below. FAISAL's murder is still unavenged.

2. About 1930 the Government decided on the HAWIJA irrigation scheme, and settlement of tribesmen in the area occupied by the 'UBAID and SHAMIR SAYIN. MADHAR ash SHAWI (brother of the DULAIM Deputy, MAD IF) who is connected with the 'UBAID, decided in conjunction with other Baghdadis, to see that the SHAMIR SAYIN got no benefit from this, the 'UBAID Sheikh falling readily in with his views. Under the influence of the late Sheikh 'AJIL al YAWAR of the SHAMIR JARBA, the SHAMIR SAYIN staked a claim by digging and settling around three wells. An order evicting them was issued on the suitable occasion offered by Sheikh 'ASI al 'ALI's murder. Both tribes gave guarantees of good behaviour, however, in connexion with 'UBAID suspicion that the SAYIN as well as the JARBA were interested in Sheikh 'ASI's death.

In 1941 the SHAMIR SAYIN supported the Regent and were raided by the 'UBAID, who supported KASHID ALI, and who were not punished for this, although the incident took place while Sheikh KASHID as SADAID of the SHAMIR SAYIN was in Baghdad welcoming the Regent's return. In 1942 the 'UBAID went further, a member of the ALBU TRAIBISH section of that tribe murdering Sheikh KASHID. In this connexion Sheikh HASAN and the murderers arrested and Sheikh DAHMAM killed while resisting arrest. The matter has never been settled and Sheikh HASAN is still living in KIRKUK.

Since then the SHAMIR SAYIN have effectively been jockeyed out of any prospects of enjoying benefits from the HAWIJA canal scheme.

Beghdad, January 12, 1944.

The Honorable
Maxwell Hamilton,
Minister - Counsellor,
American Embassy,
Moscow.

Dear Max:

We are given to understand by Kurdish nationalist students that there is published in the Soviet Union a Kurdish language newspaper entitled "Tiya Taze". Copies of this paper apparently seep out of the Soviet Union into Iraq Kurdistan from time to time. We have not been able to obtain any specimens here however and it has occurred to us that the Embassy might be of assistance.

If you could place a subscription or even be able to buy numbers of this publication for our use it would be appreciated since in evaluating the national movement among the Kurds we should have some idea of the Soviet attitude. Apparently the Kurdish nationalists believe that they have Soviet backing but no one here knows of any basis for this belief. We have facilities here for making translations of any copies which you might obtain for us and of course would furnish the Embassy with copies of any studies which we might make on the subject.

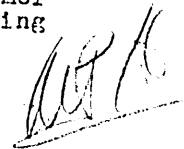
Elise and I are gradually getting settled here and hope that if you should pass through this part of the world at any time in the near or distant future you will make it a point to visit us.

We hope that you are enjoying the work in Moscow and feel sure that in view of the great change, which I gather from newspaper reports has taken place, in the Soviet attitude towards the United States and the western world you are now living in an atmosphere much more cheerful than that which prevailed in former days when representatives of foreign powers, including the United States, were not fully trusted.

Sincerely,

Loy W. Henderson

840.1 - Kurdistan office





EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Moscow, February 12, 1944

Dear Loy:

I have your letter of January 12 and I will see what can be done in regard to the Kurdish language newspaper entitled "Tiya Taze" and will later write you further.

It is pleasant to hear from you. I hope that after the grind in the Department you are finding that there is afforded in your new post opportunity for reemergence of some of the pleasanter aspects of life not possible in Washington.

With kind regards to Elise and you, I am,

Yours sincerely,

Maxwell M. Hamilton
Maxwell M. Hamilton

The Honorable

Loy W. Henderson,

American Minister,

Baghdad, Iraq.

840.1 - Kurdish Affairs



EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Moscow, February 28, 1944

MEMORANDUM

Subject: Tiya Taze.

With regard to the Kurdish language newspaper "Tiya Taze" mentioned in Mr. Henderson's letter of January 12, 1944, as reportedly published in the Soviet Union, inquiry was made at Lenin library by a Soviet employee of the Embassy.

No such publication was either known or available. However, there was available a publication called "Rja Teze" published at Yerevan, the capital of the Armenian SSR, in Kurdish. The latest copies of this publication at the Library are for January 1938. A copy was made of the paper's title, editorial board, and place of address, as listed in the publication. Without a knowledge of Kurdish, it is impossible for the Embassy to determine from this more than the facts stated above.

On February 22, the investigation at the Library having been completed, the Embassy took a letter to Boyuzpetchat requesting a subscription to "Tiya Taze". Boyuzpetchat refused to accept the letter, pointing out that they had on several previous occasions during 1944 informed the Embassy that they would not accept subscriptions to publications published outside of Moscow.

It is unlikely that the Embassy can take any further effective action regarding obtaining a subscription to "Tiya Taze" or to the obtaining of copies of it or of any other similar publication which may be published in this country. A copy of the abovementioned note made from the copy of "Rja Teze" might be of interest to Mr. Henderson.

FCR:lnw

840.1 - Kurdish Affairs



EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Moscow, March 2, 1944

Dear Loy:

In further reference to your letter of January 12, acknowledged by my letter of February 12, I enclose a copy of a memorandum prepared by Farchoorn relative to the Kurdish language newspaper "Tiya Raze".

I am sorry that the situation is so unfavorable. As of general interest to you in this connection, we have been unable to obtain for the current year a good many of the publications which we got last year and have that matter up with the Foreign Office now. A good many people back in Washington will be unable to understand why the Embassy has not been more successful in obtaining copies of papers published in the Soviet Union.

Eddy Lage returned a couple of hours ago. I am looking forward to having a long chat with him about conditions in Washington.

With kind regards in which all your friends here would wish to join, I am,

Yours sincerely,

Maxwell M. Hamilton
Maxwell M. Hamilton

Enclosure:
Memorandum

The Honorable
Loy E. Henderson,
American Minister,
Baghdad,
Iraq.

846.1 Kurdish affairs

AIRGRAM

FROM: BAGHDAD

DATE: January 24, 1944.

REC'D:

Secretary of State,
Washington, D. C.

A-3, January 24, 1944.

Legation's telegram 13, January 10, 11 p.m.

Terms for liquidation of Mulla Mustafa uprising as reported by Combined Intelligence Centre Iraq and confirmed by two other reliable sources are as follows:

(1) Mulla Mustafa shall be required to live in a village to be determined by the Government, outside the Barzan area (but presumably in Kurdistan).

(2) Mustafa's brother, Sheikh Ahmad Barzan (leader of Barzan revolt of 1931 and 1932) and other Barzan sheikhs and tribal people now in residence forcée at Hilla shall be allowed to return to their homes in Kurdistan.

(3) Specially chosen Kurdish officers of Iraqi Army shall be appointed liaison officers to continue work of pacification under direction of Majid Mustafa, Kurdish Minister without Portfolio. (Several have already been appointed, including Major Aziz Abdullah, a sheikh of the Sheikhs of Neri, and a vigorous Kurdish nationalist).

(4) Grain shall be sent to the area where fighting has taken place and relief work organized on the roads. (It is reported but unconfirmed that small amounts of supplies have already been shipped in to the area as an earnest of more to come when peace has been established)

(5) Iraqi Army outpost at Mergasur near Rowanduz to be withdrawn, but some of the police posts captured by the rebels to be re-established.

Most important omission from consideration in terms is the question of the fate of Mustafa's followers, especially those among his men who are deserters from the Police or from the Army, and those who are outlaws from time prior to Mustafa's rising. It is understood that latter will not be included in the general amnesty now being negotiated.

Mustafa/

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A-3, page 2

Mustafa himself remains under safe-conduct at Mergesur while Government at Baghdad is considering proposed terms brought back by Hajid Mustafa after talks with Mulla Mustafa. In any case, the troubles in Northern Kurdistan in this particular instance seem well on the road to settlement, to the great relief of everyone concerned at Baghdad.

HENDERSON

REG:hjh

AIRGRAM

FROM: BAGHDAD

DATE: JANUARY 31, 1944.

RECID:

Secretary of State,
Washington, D. C.

A-4, January 31, 1944.

Legation's A-3, January 24, 1944, and Confidential
Biographic Data on Beha-ud-din Nuri, December 15, 1943.

No final settlement has been reached in Mulla Mustafa's difficulties. After talks at Baghdad, Minister without Portfolio Majid Mustafa (dealing with Kurdish affairs) left for the North on January 27 to discuss with Mulla Mustafa the Government's attitude toward the proposed peace terms. Meanwhile, Mulla Mustafa comes daily under safe conduct to the Iraqi Army Camp at Mergasour, returning at night to his own encampment. His chief concern at present is said to be the immediate provision of supplies of food for his hungry followers.

It is felt now that there will be no general amnesty, and that the Government will insist on punishment for the police and army deserters with Mulla Mustafa as well as for the outlaws who have adhered to his group, if the Mulla can be persuaded to give them up in spite of Kurdish code of protection of those who seek refuge with a chieftain. Majid Mustafa hopes to persuade Mulla Mustafa to agree to Government's terms (as outlined in Airgram under reference), and to come to Baghdad to make formal submission to the Regent.

Meanwhile, further evidence of the Government's good disposition toward the Kurds has been shown by the appointment of Major General Beha-ud-din Nuri, able Army administrator of Kurdish blood, as chief liaison officer of the Government in the North and Acting Mutassarraf of Sulaimaniya. A number of officers of lesser rank of Kurdish descent have been seconded from the Army for appointment as administrative officials in Kurdish areas.

HENDERSON

File No. 800
REG:mph

840.1 - Kurdish affairs

[Handwritten signature]

[Handwritten signature]

File

Memorandum for Kurdish File

Baghdad, February 2, 1944.

By: REG

Doctor Kamran Bedr Khan in Beirut, who was associated with Ramzi Nafi Rashid, one of the parachutists in the German expedition of June 1943, is the descendant of a prominent family of Kurdish nationalists who were well known for their political views in the mid-19th century, and for that reason were exiled from Kurdistan to Syria.

He published three papers in Beirut in Latin script in the Kurdish language:

- (1) Rozanhu (The New Day) - a weekly paper
- (2) Ronahi (The Light) - a magazine twice a week
- (3) Hawar (Crying) - a monthly magazine

(Information by Mohammed Sadeeq Sayyid Taha and Sayid Hama Ali.)

It is very likely that he may have been responsible for interesting the OWI in Beirut in issuing the pictures of President Roosevelt with the title below in Kurdish in Latin script: "You will not be forgotten!"

Dr. Bedr Khan's papers, although nationalistic, are apparently sufficiently innocuous that the Kurds of Northern Iraq are able to receive them through the mails.

REG

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Kurdish File

Baghdad, February 7, 1944.

Memorandum: Visit of Dr. Ibrahim Hilmi, Kurdish Nationalist.

By: REG

Dr. Ibrahim Hilmi, Veterinary Bacteriologist of the Iraqi Government, came to me today to deliver a message from Sheikh Baba Ali at Sulaimaniya.

He graduated from Secondary School at Sulaimaniya, and from 1933-37 studied Veterinary medicine at Cairo. Then he served a year as a ~~Veterinary~~ Veterinary Surgeon here, and was sent to Turkey for two and 1/2 years to study at the Veterinary School at Ankara, whence he returned in late 1940. He has since been here at the Veterinary laboratory.

He says that the Kurdish nationalists aren't pleased at General Bahauddin's appointment as mutassarraf of Sulaimaniya, or at the other appointments of officers to administrative posts in Kurdistan even though the appointees are Kurds by descent. They fear military dictatorship for the area.

Address: 3-2-1 Al-Waziyeh, telephone 7196.

840.1 - Kurdish affairs

AIRGRAM

FROM: BAGHDAD

DATE: FEBRUARY 18, 1944.

REC'D:

Secretary of State,
Washington, D. C.

A-9, February 18, 1944.

Legation's A-3, January 24, and A-4, January
31, 1944.

Situation in Kurdistan is reported to have quieted down. Minister without Portfolio Hajid Mustafa has visited Baghdad and again returned to the North, endeavoring to persuade Mulla Mustafa, the rebel leader, to come to Baghdad to make formal submission to Regent as final act of liquidation of rebellion. Terms suggested in airgram A-3 have already been partially carried out. Eight or nine Barzan sheikhs who had been in enforced residence at Hilla have been permitted to return with their families and entourage (a party of 86 persons in all) to live at Barzan. Distribution of free barley has been begun by the Government in the Rowanduz area, and general satisfaction is felt that the affair seems to be ended. The various army officers of Kurdish descent who are to assume temporary administrative posts in the North are already taking up their jobs.

Henderson

File No. 800
REG:aph

840.1 - Kurdish Affairs

MEMO

KURDISH TRIBES, Northeast and East of Kirkuk.

General:

Of the Kurdish tribes in Iraq it can be said that not one has a paramount Shaikh or single leader to which all members of a given tribe will look. Each tribe is composed of a number of sections. A single section is usually composed of less than 1,000 persons. None of the chiefs or shaikhs control more than one section. On occasion a chief will obtain the cooperation of one or more neighboring sections, but this is normally confined to some specific project and is in no way lasting, nor can it be said that the influence of the leader in the project extends to other matters. For example, ~~at present~~ Mullah Mustafah is ^{at present} attempting to obtain the cooperation of his neighboring sections in order to present a strong front in dealing with the government. He has not yet succeeded in closeing the deals with the other chiefs.

Daouda Tribes: in Kirkuk area. This tribe supports government authority and is on good terms with the Talabani. Dara Beg is (a?) chief. He has good character, was once actively anti-Turk, and has a great friendship with the Jafs

Talaban Tribes: In the Kirkuk and Kanaqin areas.

Wahab Beg is not a leading chief but is one of from six to twelve section chiefs. He is not important.

Jaf Tribes: Are in the Sulaimaniya area spread along the Persian border (not Kirkuk). Daoud Beg has negligible tribal influence and is one of about a dozen Beg Zadeh (tr. important man; son of).

Khushnou Tribes: In Shaqlawa-Rowanduz area. Probably 15,000 persons. Saddiq Beg Miran Qadir is a section chief, possibly able to raise 100 fighting men. He has no influence over

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other section chiefs except possibly in his capacity as a Deputy. Considered to be inexperienced, not a leader as he shows himself ^{to be} rather docile. Possibly a dozen other Chiefs of equal strength.

Khaylani Tribes: Nomads who migrate towards Persia. Fixed abode, if any, and exact strength not known. This tribe is noted for its banditry. Karim Khan is chief of the Mulla Ali section. No information on Majid Mamik Agha.

Zerari Tribes: In Shaqlawa-Rowunduz area. About 2,000. Ala' ud-Din is a section chief, rather minor. He is very religious and was mentioned in "Two Years in Kurdistan". Kannabi (Kanebi) Agha is a section chief and is friendly with most of the Pizhder chiefs.

Surehi Tribes: in Rowunduz area. 5, or 6,000 persons. No information regarding Taha Ali Beg or Salim Taj ud-Din Agha. Khidir Hamad Ashir is a tall fine looking man. He has "brigand's blood in his veins; is the dangerous son of a dangerous father."

Other Shaikhs:

Shaikh Ubaidulla is a much revered religious leader. He has great influence among the Mamish, Mangur and other tribes in Iraq and Iran.

Shaikh Ali Agha is not of the Aghawat class and has little influence.

Shaikh Mohammed Agha Balak was once the means of communication between Qadir Beg and Shaikh Mahmood. He has no other ~~claim~~ ^{claim} to fame.

Shaikh Mohammed Sadiq (Pushoo) Deputy. Is in perpetual dispute with his step-mother over family matters. He accompanied Majid Mustafa in attempting settlement with Mullah Mustafa and played an important part. He is friendly to the Allies but is somewhat unbalanced.

Mahmood Beg Baradost. Nothing obtained.

aduitonal notes:

Shaikh Hassan (met in Kirkuk) could not be identified. S/L Hill may obtain identification in a few days. Hill is inclined to believe that Hassan is a romancer and ~~that~~ the fact that Capt. Wilson rather than the A.L.O. is interested in him leads him to believe that Hassan may have been mixed up in some theft or swindle.

File

Notes on the rebellion in Rowanduz
collected from officers familiar
with the situation there

Has Mulla Mustapha surrendered ?

The reply is that Mulla Mustapha has surrendered and has not surrendered. He has surrendered because he has ceased his hostilities and is visiting the Iraqi delegation which has been empowered by the Iraqi Government to negotiate peace with him almost every day. In the evenings he retires in the mountains with his guards. He has not surrendered because he still keeps the machine guns and rifles captured from the Police and the Iraqi Army during the operations.

Casualties

Nobody seems to have a proper record of the casualties which were the victims of the rebellion. The Army says that the Police forces have lost between 60 and 70 policemen killed or badly wounded and a good number of rifles said to be 500 and about 11 or 12 machine guns. The Army has lost between 20 and 30 men and one officer wounded. The Army estimates the casualties of the rebels amounting to about 300 killed or wounded.

Mulla Mustapha's present force

The strength of Mulla Mustapha's forces before the present truce was estimated at 1,000 men fully equipped with rifles and ammunition.

Mulla Mustapha's clemency

Mulla Mustapha's clemency with his prisoners is reported to be unsurpassed in his warfare history. Capturing a policeman or a soldier, he enquires of him whether he would be willing to stay with him or return to his post. If he prefers the latter, he takes his rifle, pays him two dinars, and escorts him near an Army picket, shows him the way how to join the picket, and retires.

What the Iraq Army is doing now in Rowanduz area

The army is repairing the roads, re-constructing the bridges destroyed and training the troops in mountain warfare. Mulla Musta-

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pha has allowed them to carry on their work.

British troops at Diana

A battalion of British forces is stationed in the Rowanduz district, three companies at Diana and one company at Miana. They are there to "protect the wives of the Assyrians who are in the service of the British Army". The vehicles of the British forces move freely in that district. They were crossing Mulla Mustapha's area even during the time of the hostilities but were carrying large Union Jacks.

Sugar, Tea, Barley and Wheat sent to Mulla Mustapha

Reports are current that a consignment of sugar, tea, barley and wheat has already been despatched to Mulla Mustapha and to the people of his region.

Why is he not surrendering ?

Unless the Iraqi Army units withdraw from Rowanduz Mulla Mustapha will not surrender and return the arms captured from the Police and Army. According to my understanding there is no sign that such a withdrawal is taking place or will take place in the near future.

Where is Majed Mustapha

Majed Mustapha, the Minister without portfolio, who has been authorized by the cabinet to negotiate peace with Mulla Mustapha, has been in Baghdad for the last three or four days to report the developments of his negotiations with Mulla Mustapha. He is expected to return to Rowanduz any day. In his absence Major Aziz Izzet, Liaison officer, and Major Aziz Abdullah, another Liaison officer, are negotiating with him. Major Aziz Izzet has been nominated Qaimmaqam of Bela which is about 10 kilometers from Rowanduz. After peace is signed a number of changes among the administrative officials in northern districts, especially in the Arbil district, will take place.

Revised Constitution forbids Parliament to Pardon Mulla Mustapha

Article 123 has been added to the Constitution in its recent revision. A translation is as follows: (attached)

Can Parliament pass a law pardoning Mulla Mustapha for his acts of hostilities?

PRELIMINARY GAZETTEER OF THE KURDISH TRIANGLE
BETWEEN LESGER ZAB AND TIGRIS RIVERS NORTHERN IRAQ

INTRODUCTION

The present occupants of the Kurdish hills are assumed to be largely of Indo-European, "Arvan" stock, which migrated into the area from north and northeast. There has, of course, been some inter-mixture with other races and it is also possible that some of the tribes of south Turkey may not be Kurds but Semitic refugees from the plains area. There seems to be very little authentic information of their early history, either from tradition and folk-tales or written accounts.

The religion of the Kurd subsequent to pagan days was the Christianity of the old Eastern Church, and remnants of the faithful still survive--the Christian Kurd of isolated valleys and certain of the Assyrian tribes. The overwhelming majority, however, has been converted to Islam but religious bonds mean little to them: the sentiment has even been expressed by Kurds that it is a shame that the Semitic Islamic faith was ever adopted; but for this the Kurd would now be in the flow of Christian western civilization. Religious toleration is pronounced among Kurds, although bigots and fanatics do exist, and the Kurd acknowledges a blood or racial tie as well as a religious one.

Personally, the Kurd is exceedingly likeable and generally easy to get along with, generous with a quick humor and temper, clever with his hands, conservative as is usual with hill people, and an extreme individualist. In spite of his extreme generosity, he is also avaricious and grasping. Ignorance and religious beliefs at times make him appear thoughtless or cruel, and, in spite of a physical aptitude for patience and long endurance, he is mentally impatient to the point of being unstable.

Politically the Kurd is a victim of his environment. A rugged, deeply dissected, mountainous country, not too rich in water and arable land, tends toward disruption of the people into smaller and smaller communities rather than integrations into unions or larger communities with a common purpose. Not even their common openly expressed and profound dislike of the Arab Government has until recently been able to overcome jealousies of their neighbors in the next valley.

Socially the Kurd is constituted in two types of communities: first, tribal communities in small towns and in nomad groups; secondly, feudalistic communities in which the place of the *seri* is taken by tenant or land-owning peasant farmer. This second type of community is essentially non-tribal. Leadership in the tribal setup is of three types:

1. The temporal ruler, the Agha--the office being hereditary within a family, successive Aghas being chosen by elders of the ruling family: example, the Gurdi.
2. The religious ruler, the Shaikh--the office being hereditary. The Shaikh is quite often the religious head of a number of tribes, although each of these may have its own Agha and Shaikh: example, Ezed Din Mullah of Erbil.
3. The religious and temporal rule combined in one person, the Shaikh. The office is hereditary and undoubtedly arises through the capacity of a religious Shaikh for temporal rule, rather than vice versa. This type of Shaikh may combine religious and temporal rule in one or more tribes, and religious only in others: example, Shaikh Ahmed Barzan.

Families of leaders, both Aghas and Shaikhs, may be of the same stock as the tribesmen, as among the Gurdi, or they may be of foreign stock who have gained ascendancy over a tribe, as in the case of the Khoshnao.

The tribal sedentary setup is essentially that of the Scottish clan, with definite allegiances, dues and obligations for both tribesmen and Agha. Tribes may be large or small, one unit or composed of many sections, depending chiefly on topographic conditions; i.e. large fertile valleys contain large tribal units:

example, the Khoshnao. Small connecting valleys contain sections of a larger tribal unit: example, the Belik. Barren areas support small tribes: example, the Haruti. Fertile areas assist in growth of a tribe's population. Where the population becomes too large for the land to support, the tribe spills over into adjoining valleys usually working from the head downward. A good example of this is shown by Khoshnao distribution. People thus segregated from their parent valley tend to become sectionalized, and may eventually acquire interests sufficiently divergent from the tribe of their origin as to cause them to disavow all affiliation, as regards government, although they may still acknowledge blood ties: example, the Ako Doli of the Rowanduz valley.

The nomads are all tribal of the Scottish clan type, the choice example being the genial Herki. The nomad leads a rugged life, and is as a result virile. They seem to be among the healthiest, most contented of Kurds. Nomads number among themselves people of various tribes, the majority of which are sedentary farmers: example, the Mamsal section of the Surchi. They also include people who do not regularly follow a nomadic life: example, the Surchi, who occasionally accompany the Herki.

The non-tribal setup is one which results in large blocks of land, owned by town-dwellers, on which tenant farmers from all tribes have settled (see Non-tribal lists below). In some cases, the townsmen were formerly tribal Aghas who have moved into town and whose financial interests have become wide enough to overcome their tribal allegiances: example, Hazim Shindin Agha of Zakho. It is notable that non-tribal conditions exist on the fringe of the Kurd area where communications are easy and natural physiographic boundaries are practically nonexistent.

The future of the Kurd is problematical. He is a type that should make a good wealth-producing citizen. Drawbacks to the realization of this are to date due to an antiquated social setup which is being perpetuated by the policy of the Arab government: first, in governing through the Aghas, who have been confirmed in their landholding through the Land Settlement Act; second, by treating the Kurd, not as a citizen, but as something to be repressed. School privileges are weighted heavily on the side of the Arab, and favoritism in courts, medical service, and state service is the rule. Under this system of government, deputies are appointed to Parliament, in spite of the theoretical "election" involved. As a result, it is hopeless to expect Kurd delegates to be anything but what they usually are—government stooges. A change, due to the recent outcome of the Kulla Mustafa affair, seems to be in the process of appearing, but this attitude will last only so long as the government feels itself too weak to help itself. The change originates in weakness and not in a shift to a more enlightened policy.

NOTE TO ACCOMPANY KURDISH TRIBAL MAP

A. The geographic features of the accompanying map of the Kurdish tribes in northern Iraq between the Lesser Zab and Tigris rivers (see attached reduced photographic reproduction) has been drawn on scale 8 miles to the inch from the quarter inch maps of the Indian survey of Iraq. Drainage lines alone are shown as it is thought that their pattern gives an adequate idea of the rugged topography of most of the Kurdish occupied area.

B. Tribal boundaries have been drawn from data assembled from various sources and on the assumption that certain natural topographic features have provided natural boundaries. The sources of data are

1. Qadr headquarters official records
2. Information of local inhabitants
3. British army observers, chiefly the air liaison officers of the area.
4. Personal observation.

C. From the data collected, the villages shown on the 1:100000 map sheets have been designated according to tribes and tribal boundaries, then put on the map enclosing the villages and also following some well-defined topographic feature. Two types of tribal boundaries are evident--large rivers and barren high ridges. Distribution according to this system is well exemplified by the Ako, Balik, and Baradast peoples. Sections of these tribes occupy their own small valleys separated from their neighbors by narrow high ridges. The boundaries drawn on the 1:100000 sheets were then transferred to the enclosed map on which sufficient drainage lines are shown to portray the physiographic reasons of tribal limits.

D. In the plains area west and southwest of the hills, tribal boundaries are, of course, less clear cut and this feature probably has given rise to the social phenomenon of tribal disintegration either partial or complete. Hence, west and southwest of Gurdi, Bot, Zibari, Doski country, we find the non-tribal Kurds, the overlordship of the Dizhai Aghas, and such people as the Chabak who are of no tribal organization, the Bejuan who are of very loosely-knit and tenuous tribal ties, and the Christians who are tribal in no way at all.

E. Early on in the collection of data the question arose as to the definition of exactly what is a Kurd. The area of the map east and northeast of the red boundary line (designated as "Approximate Limit of Kurd Area") comprises one in which the population, regardless of religious belief, if asked to what race they belong, will reply that they are Kurdish. The people may be Moslem, Shia, or Sunni, or Christian, Chaldean or Nestorian, but they will all acknowledge Kurdish blood. West and south of the line, as far as the Tigris River, is a grand hodge-podge, but most of the people living here will claim to be Christian, Shia, Turkoman, Arab, Chabak, Bejuan and, in spite of the fact that many of them are Kurds, they have no racial feeling. To them their race is in accordance with their religious belief.

F. Religious belief as a criterion of race is common in Iraq and makes any study of this sort rather confusing. It is, however, less pronounced among Kurds than others and most pronounced among Jews and Arabs. A good example of it is the Assyrians (Nestorians) many of whom are Kurds but of whom there are few if any who can grasp the idea that they may be of Kurdish blood and Nestorian faith.

G. The accompanying map is incomplete in the areas of Bille-qadr comprising the Zibari, Shirwan and Mizuri and Shaikhan-qadr and more work could easily be done profitably in the Dahuk and Bardost areas.

H. When possible towns have been listed, and their location indicated by co-ordinates from the map sheets, scale 1:10000.

NOTE ON AREA BETWEEN TIGRIS RIVER AND LINE OF "APPROXIMATE LIMIT OF KURD AREA."

This area contains a varied assortment of peoples and loosely-knit tribes. Listed below in order of size are a few of the racial and tribal groups of the area:

A. SHARAK or CHARAK: No tribal organization. Sedentary farmers of a more industrious type who claim to be Turkoman Shia Moslem. However, in spite of this claim which has some of the earmarks of a protective coating, their language is not Turkoman but possesses some elements akin to Syriac and their religion has points of similarity to the Druze and a similar relic religion in west Persia. These people may be descendants of original inhabitants.

B. BEJUAN: Loosely-knit tribal organization. The people are industrious farmers and dwell with the Chabak. They speak Chabak and Kurdish, are ruled by Aghas and wear a semi-Kurd dress with Arab headdress. Some claim to be Kurds converted to Chabak faith, others claim to be descendants of the Tai tribe of Arabs who have adopted the Kurdish ways.

C. CHRISTIAN: Industrious farmers dwelling usually in very large towns. The religious beliefs vary from Chaldean, Nestorian, of both old and new liberal type, Roman Catholic, Jacobite, Schismatic. These people probably are descendants of original inhabitants of the area and long generations of tough existence have bred into them some rather undesirable characteristics, but they also have developed a quick lively intelligence not generally encountered in these.

D. **TURKOMAN:** Sunni Moslem non-tribal descendants of the Turkoman conquest of ca. 1150. Industrious, prosperous farmers whose villages are distinguished by the characteristic bee-hived shaped housetops.

E. **ARAB:** Tribal Sunni Moslems. Most numerous are the Jabbari riverine sedentary farmer tribe. A great variety of small tribal groups are also present.

F. **TURKS:** These are descendants of Turkish soldiery and are, of course, of mixed blood. They are comparatively few in numbers.

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BILBAS	XII	Nal abbas	LIIIf
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Bize	XVla	Nal a pir	(See XXV)
Bali	II	Nal as chaikh	LIIId
BOT	XIV	MAMA SAYNA	XXXII
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DIZAI AGHAS	XVI	Mamknoula	(See XVI)
Dola	Ia	Mamosan	LIIIf
DOLA-URRI	XVII	Mamsal	XXXIII
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Ranaki Mir Khidr	XLb	Sirhatti	(See XXV)
Rawandak	VIIc	SIYAN	LI
Razaqi	XXXVe	SLIVANI	LII
REZHIKURRI	XLI	SURCHI	LIII
Roost	Vd	Ussu Kagheli	LIIII
ROZH BARAN	XLII	ZANGANA	LIV
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SARALU	XLIII	Zengil	(See Ib)
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I
AKO

The tribe is resident in the hill area above Rania. One small section, the Ako Doli, has crossed the divide into the Kuvanduz drainage area. The tribe is a member of the Bilbas confederation. Shepherds of the tribe migrate with the flocks to Kandil each summer and two of the sections, the Boli and Babboli, follow a nomadic existence.

I a
Ako
DOJA SECTION
Map ref. Ako

Abdulla Beg i Aziz Beg of Fakiyan village is chief of Dola section.

Village names	No. houses	Map co-ords. 1:100,000 sheets
Fakiyan	40	G 150480
Akoyan	150	G 165497
Benmerda	20	G 160471
Garaw i Zhairi	50	G 187458
Garaw i Zhori	40	

I b
Ako
MANDAMARA SECTION
Map ref. Ako 1

Kanabi i Balu Agha is chief of Mandamara and the following sections:

Village names	No. houses	Map co-ords. 1:100,000 sheets
Dogaman	60	G 520195
Pirana Reshka	10	
Chima Satow	2	
		MAKHO BIZIN SECTION
Gallo	30	G 521202
		HENZAIIRI SECTION
Gertik	30	
		MAMIK SECTION
Dergella Mandasara	7	G 478220 (Map name Uargela)
		ZENGIL SECTION
Dopan	20	G 475214
		JAMIK SECTION
Doava	25	G 459216
(?) Bazan		G 448218

I c
Ako
SHAROSHI SECTION
Map ref, Ako 2

Faqi Abdulla of Kaska village is chief of the section.

Village names	No. of houses	Map co-ords. 1:100,000 sheets
Perdmamka	6	
Hirdgoran	6	G 579325
Suraday	20	G 600332
Ashkolka	10	G 606330
Sergaynaila	30	G 585332
Sinamaqa	10	G 591338 (Map name Sinamakan)
Sharosha	25	
Kaska	35	G 582353
Deroqatir	10	
Balazerdawn	5	
Shahidan	4	G 564208
Barawa		G 556269
Borizh		G 570290
Barado		G 571316
Kani Naft		G 576330

I d
Iko
BATOKIA SECTION
Map ref. AKO-3

Ghafur Khan of Leoznah village is chief of section.

Village names	No. of houses	Map co-ords. 1:100,000 sheets
Lewoja	10	G 440363 (Map name Leoznah)
Surbash	3	
Yondija	40	G 470345 (Map name Endeza)
Pesh Tashen	40	G 572373
Kirnakow	25	G 579382
Biraday	5	
Zargelli	10	G 412390
Bakriskan	10	G 425378

I e
Ako
KHYLA SECTION
Map ref. AKO-4

Ghafur Khan of Leoznah is chief of the section.

Village names	No. of houses	Map co-ords. 1:100,000 sheets
Byawan	6	G 521320
Komtan	8	G 530323
Dowaila	7	G 510329
Silla	40	G 505336
Boli	20	G 528350
Astairakan	6	G 536351
Kapinga	4	
Biyana	4	G 556350
Rezbiakeriyen	6	G 568353
Knobiyan	4	G 480336
Shiwa		G 559342

I f
Ako
BERDERRI SECTION
Map ref. AKO 5

Brahim Agha i Mamand Agha of Serkapken village is chief of the section.

Village names	No. of houses	Map co-ords. 1:100,000 sheets
Serkapken	60	G 396183
Mirabeg	10	G 390172
Rezina	10	G 392205
Dalalen	15	G 398200
Manjira Ako	15	G 427183
Titoga	15	G 444167
Sharisteni	10	G 414173
Konasa	5	G 460160
Boliqina		G 304225
Hakuka		G 389212
Sheban		G 412193
Asterilan		G 386150

I G
AKO
BOLISHAWIR SECTION
Map ref. AKO 6

Brahim Agha i Mamand Agha of Serkapkan village is chief of the section.

Village names	No. of Houses	Map co-ords. 1:100,000 sheets
Berdanza	25	G 325286
Medera	15	G 297314
Dolaraku	35	G 375320
Birdbi	15	G 328281 (Map name Berdebi)
Nura	10	G 346260
Dera	10	G 353263
Sardka i Serawa	5	G 380248
Sardka i Zhurawa	5	
Kanibinow	10	G 367237
Nawazina	10	G 310294
Kalasieda	5	G 350254 (Map name Qalah Seida)
Gozkalan		G 320300
Shakalah		G 309299

I h
AKO
BOLI SECTION

Nomadic group of one hundred families under Saud Naji Motan, Rasul Haji Shaikh and Hassan Mohammed Maran. The section winters in region about Erbil and Koi Sanjak. The summer grounds are near Haji Umran, in which area they grow grain.

I i
AKO
B.BOLI SECTION

Nomadic group of fifty families under Mustafa Shim. They apparently occupy the same sites and follow the same routes as the Boli section

II
AKRA (AQRA) QADR

Administrative area with headquarters at Aqra. Population 30,000, all Kurdish except the Jews of Aqra town. Aqra town has 5500 people including 800 Jews and 350 Kurdish Christians.

III
ALI KURTKI
or
ALI KURTAQI

Reported to be a member of the Batas Suroni. At present the tribe is resident in the Dizai Agha area.

Village names	No. of Houses	Map co-ords. 1:100,000 sheets
Gawaara	30	HY 780313
Kandal	20	HY 780326 (Map name Kand al Yarmia)

Village is seat of Ismail Agha i Hassan, chief of the tribe.

Sirma	7	
Khazna	8	HY 685203
Cazuk	7	HY 663206

IV
BAGHDAK

Inhabits villages in the dasht i Bish near Rowanduz. Ahmed Beg Baghak of Badilian is chief of the section.

Village names	No. of Houses	Map co-ords. 1:100,000 sheets
Badilian	20	G 153652
Sidkan	10	G 214628
Hesnan	10	
Shaikhan	10	

V
BALIK

Large tribe inhabiting the country in the headwaters of the Rubar i Rowanduz. Chiefs are Sheikh Mohammed Agha of Walash and Ali Agha of R. y. t. Is divided into a number of sections.

V a
Balik
SEKRAN SECTION
Map ref. Balik 1

Shaikh Mohammed Agha of Walash is chief of the section which occupies the valley of the Rudbar i Maran on the upper reaches of Rubar i Rowanduz.

Village names	No. of Houses	Map co-ords. 1:100,000 sheets
Gurumi	10	G 456535 (Map name Garoni)
Shivalok	10	
Nowberdan	8	G 445557 (Map name Naopurdan)
Sheikhan	12	G 460552
Shaikh Wutman	15	G 479555
Bendayzian	20	
Koshkhan	20	
Bassan	10	G 515559
Mussain Ruta	4	
Maran	25	G 530535
Ayna	25	
Mizdinan	15	G 515549
Sekrisekran	20	
Naobaruk		G 458545

V b
Balik
MULLA SHRAFIYA SECTION
Map ref. Balik 2

Shaikh Mohammed Agha of walash village is the chief of the section.

Village Names	No. of Houses	Map co-ords. 1:100,000 sheets
Walash	20	G 434545
Merga	30	
Rasndur	6	G 395533
Maqosan	10	G 407506 (Map name Makesah)
Daurza	25	
Saya	2	G 405516
Gallala	70	G 408564
Dar es Salaam	10	G 352551
Razan i Mulla Ismail	10	Gm382531
Choman	4	G 340541
Omrawa		G 349524
Qasr		G 410499
Walza		G 435488
Kani Sumaq		G 376544
Guizan		G 352565
Karwata		G 430570

V c
Balik
DOLI BALIAN SECTION
Map ref. Balik 3

Shaikh Mohammed Agha of Walash village is the chief of the section.

Village names	No. of Houses	Map Co-ords. 1:100,000 sheets
Koylan	20	G 487448 (Map name Koila)
Basta	12	G 490431 (Map name Waste)
Kowla	8	
Mowtan	25	
Gird Khazayna	10	
Kulat	10	G 465433
Wossan	10	G 450445 (Map name Wusan)
Boran	8	G 472455

V d
Balik
ROOST or RUST SECTION
Map ref. Balik 4

Mir Qasr i Mir Asad of Rust village is chief of the section.

Village names	No. of Houses	Map co-ords. 1:100,000 sheets
Gertik	80	G 360666
Rust	100	G 347665
Pir Umar	25	G 322642
Semolan	15	G 319650 (Map name Similan)
Seroshma	15	G 328631
Mawan	20	G 316633 and G342645
Daragert	2	G 310640 (Map name Dol i Gird)
Mama Khutibiyan	3	
Dizok	7	G 296659
Kowaloni Rust	4	G 286663 and G 327582 (Map name Kulan)
Gazna	20	G 275660
Gizra	2	G 298640
Ablisen	3	G 293643 (Map name Havrasan)
Baysha	25	
Dolbalis	4	G 267627
Jawoka	2	
Choman	6	G 306610
Chambalok	8	G 314596 (Map name Chasbaruk)
Snorkawo	10	G 338576
Jwayzingan	2	G 332577 (Map name Jazrange)
Dolana	3	G 306650 (Map name Dorana)
Shirishma		G 336655

V e
Balik
SHIVAZOR SECTION
Map ref., Balik 5

Ali Agha Khan of Rayat is chief of the section.

Village names	No. of Houses	Map co-ords. 1:100,000 sheets
Rayat	40	G 530630
Alana	12	G 536656
Gundaznor	20	G 488666
Derbend i Rayat	70	G 493611
Nowanda	40	G 447633
Verda	25	G 437612
Welza	20	G 429598 (Map name Dilza)
Mam i Khealan	25	G 482587
Kowla Khanan	8	G 433585 (Map name Kowana Khana)
Shora	10	G 487648
Dolaband		G 473616

VI
B. LIKIAN

Small group living in Dasht i Dian. One section of the tribe is completely nomadic and the other is partly so. Both sections are headed by Mulla Ussu Agha of Haftdian village.

VI a
Balikian
BARAZAN SECTION

Seventy nomadic families under Mulla Ussu Agha of Haftdian village. The section winters near Kowraben, Daraben and Barhushtir in the western Erbil Gurdî country

Kowraben	map co-ords. on 1:100,000 sheets	ZF 450120
Daraben		ZF 570210
Barhushtir		ZF 560260

VI b
Balikian
SERGALLI SECTION

Mulla Ussu Agha of Haftdian village is the chief of the section. The majority of these people migrate in summer to Hornie Balikian in Pêrsia in company with the Balikian Barazan

Village Names	No. of Houses	Map co-ords. 1:100,000 sheets
Balikian	200	G 119610
Haftdian	10	G 100649

In addition to the Kurd families, the village contains approximately fifteen families of Assyrians.

Daylizion	40
Sereshma	50

VII
BARADOST

Large tribe in the highlands north of the Rowanduz area. Chief of the tribe is Mahmud beg Khalifa Samad beg of Merjesir village.

VII a
Baradost
BARADOST SECTION
Map ref. Baradost 1

Fatta beg i Hamad Saled beg of Chinairi is chief of the section

Village names	No. of houses	Map co-ords. 4 miles/inch sheets
Aray	8	ZB 18 10 (Map name Ari)
Zerwa	4	ZB 14 07 (Map name Zirva)
Rubarog	7	ZB 08 06 (Map name Rubar)
Kani Rash	20	ZB 07 99
Chinairi	10	G 074 964 (1:100,000 sheet)
Hayat	5	G 079 944 "
Khomaro	6	G 020 967 "
Haruna	8	G 030 938 "
Benderri	4	
Karzawa	4	ZG 12 98 (4 miles/inch sheet)
Sardow	2	
Awberra	4	
Sedanog	2	
Inemsay	3	
Chem e Luya		ZB 05 04
Balbradi		ZA 00 99
Kirjolija		ZB 24 16

VII a (Cont'd.)

Village names

Map co-ords.

Imam Shah
Girdi
Maishim

G 068 923 (1:100,000 sheet)
G 022 952
G 116 957

VII b

Baradost

KHAKHURIK SECTION

Map ref. Baradost 2

Manmud beg of Merjasir is chief of the section.

Village Names

No. of Houses

Map co-ords.

Baysok
Sipiyara
Shaikhun
Parawi
Tarawla
Muslok
Kowirt
Snoshnay
Bennay
Knasto
Knazna
Jorja
Cninusa
Armusha
Gulangirdi
Gora
Zort
Meri i Mila
Ler i Hora
Khenairi
Lolan (?)

7
3
4
2
2
1
3
7
7
3
3
2
2
7
1
4

G 197 920
G 160 923 (Map name Snushin)
G 146 947
(Owned by the merki but
peopled by the Baradost
(and under rule of Manmud
beg of Merjasir
(
ZB 26 07)
(
ZB 28 06)
(
G 174 959
G 352 938
G 364 957
ZG 40 99
G345 910

VII c

Baradost

KHAKHURIK SECTION

Map ref. Baradost 3

Manmud Beg of Merjasir is chief of the Section

Village Names

No. of houses

Map co-ords. 1:100,000 sheets

Berkana
Laytan i Zhori
Laytan i Zhairi
Kanikali
Pir Ibrahim
Alani
Piraka
Nizari
Kowlabas i Zhori
Kowlabas i Zhairi
Lailken
Ablesina
Maidan
Kolakan
Girdkal
Jurra

5
6
4
2
6
5
6
6
6
5
10
8
10
10
10
5

G 343 834 (Map name Birkin)
G 282 845

G 204 867

G 167 885
G 150 881 (Map name Belisinin)

G 082 865
G 215 786 (Map name Jaran)

VII c (Cont'd.)

Village Names	No. of Houses	Map Co-ords. 1:100,000 sheets
Khalifen	5	
Mina	4	G 162 821
Lolan	10	G 197 810
Hadkan	7	
Kalait	5	G 277 839 (Map name Koltitan)
Dalawa	5	G 265 828 (Map name Dulava)
Zhailiyen	10	G 251 805 (Map name Zhilie)
Bozan or Basolkan	3	G 253 820
Gora	5	G 204 849
Gormamik	3	
Mergarash	3	
Daywin	5	
Karil		G 335 852
Baskam i Zhori		G 300 840
Saichin		G 279 829
Berozh		G 228 878
Seran		G 207 887
Qaunila		G 160 890
Khazai		G 168 828
Naomergan		G 159 883
Harchaira		G 148 892
Shikair		G 138 846
Gawri i Bandur		G 071 890

VII d
Baradost
PIRASINI SECTION
Map ref. Baradost 4

Mahmud beg of Merjasir is chief of the section

Village names	No. of Houses	Map co-ords. 1:100,000 sheets
Kazhek	15	G 232 699
Huwairan	5	G 223 730
Shewan	15	G 219 716
Sidekan	50	G 253 730
Mawatawa	12	G 288 750
Tobzawa	5	G 274 743
Benni	12	
Zyozhila	10	
Malamalai	6	
Baysuy	10	
Hairden	8	
Boli	20	G 291 700
Merjasir	7	
Dera	12	
Towkan	7	
Talan	7	G 257 707
Gileshka	6	
Birta	8	
Beroshim	7	
Bejowana	3	
Baghay	3	
Soriyan	7	
Memdian	7	
Bewezi zhori	3	G 311 765
Bewezi zhairi	2	
Barchigha	4	G 306 758
Khanot	4	
Dosinian	3	
Musa Khawa		G 160 700
Sar i Wardi		G 190 695
Naoruen		G 198 669
Munammed Baksh		G 220 756
Gerwa Zhori		G 334 765

VIII
LARRALI EALA

Occupy a large area on the northern frontier between the greater Zab and Habur Derrah rivers north of Amadia. Tribal leaders are of the Rashid Beg family, present leader being Ahmed Beg i Kasnia Beg. Tribesmen cultivate rice and tobacco. They also run a few cattle, keep bees, cut wood. They are generally rather poor. There is among them a fairly large Kure Christian element.

Village Names	Population	Map co-ords. 4 mi. to 1 inch	
Aary	80		
Ourma Raouri	80		
Ourmani	250		
Rayoona	200		
Batookhy	60		
Al Koshki	180		
Thoular	300	ZA 08 24	
Kand Sarky	160	ZA 05 25	
Thoshbi	90		
Mani Mazi	70		
Durnaky	135		
Kolka	160		
Berberi	170		
Karma	210		
Gedeedeky	80		
Safria	70		
Bieria	130		
Warmook	220		
Tsheesh	50		Christian
Balouka	100		Christian
Kari	80		
Maltanta	80		
Of Sarky	40		
Halooch	90		
Halooch	130		Christian
Knawari	55		Christian
Surdset	70		Christian
Tarwatens	650		
Serezeeri	80		
Beernitoura	100		Jews
Shmalla	140		Christian
Baty	160		Christian
Doura	220		Christian
Blak Doura	120		
	280		Christian
Eirshky	130		
Eden	180	ZA 04 25	
Seroo	180		
Gelki	500	Omar Agha	250 Christian
Kaboosta	230	" "	
Bazeen	50	" "YE 94 25	
Berienka	200	" "	
Gefla	100	" "	Christian
Knashkhasna	220	" "ZA 01 23	
Hega Seedah	230	" "	
Kerkalkal	60	Sair Ana Beg and brothers and sons of Taha Beg	
Beefelky	50		
Bazi	120		
Deelouzun	100		
Dersheky	120		Christian
Maya	120	Sn. Muzhar	Christian
Maya	160	Sakik Ismail Beg	Moslem
Beedoah	900	ZA 15 26	
Ourah	200	ZA 10 30	
Banafi	500	ZA 12 26	
Karkou	130		
Kohni Bilaky	180		Christian

VIII (Cont'd.)

Village Names	Population	Map co-ords.
Rasheets	200	
Kuhri	170	
Harour	600	YE 9927
Madina	65	
Hees	200	Christian
Kh. raba	140	Omar Agha
Bek Mala	160	Bariosi
Shiblozu	220	

IV
BARZILI JEER

Small group in extreme north of Iraq.

Village Names	Population	Chief
Eiscedar	300	Abd el Rahman and Haj Hussein
Eswaro	200	" " " " " "
Yerash	100	Mhd. Agha i Hussein Agha
Diraya	100	Selim Agha
Ousta Kouky	120	" "
Galioky	80	" "
Baram nky	100	Abd el Rahman Agha and Suleiman Agha
Gloaky	70	" " " " " "
Haferky	120	" " " " " "
Dierky	150	" " " " " "
Hamanky	150	Omar Agha, Niemanagha, Mahmud Agha
Ishkefty	70	" " " " " "
Gitri	250	Christian
Sheikha	100	These lands owned by Wagfs of El Ghadeira
Anook	40	" " " " " "
Eshikran	120	" " " " " "
Shlaih	100	" " " " " "

X
BARZAN

The Barzanis inhabit the Barzen area, are few in numbers, are recruited from a number of tribes and comprise the household retainers and retinue of the religious leader Shaikh Ahmad of Barzan, whom, it is reliably reported, was worshipped by his fanatical followers as God. The Barzani have long been known as "Diwan" or "Mad" by the Kurds, sharing this reputation with the Shirwani.

XI
BENI GARA

Resident in valleys north of Jebel Gara east of Amadia. The tribal heads are not influential and affairs of the area are largely ordered by the Government. Present tribal leaders are Haj Shaban Agha, Mhd. Saleh Agha i Abdul Aziz Agha, Said Agha i Mustafa i Al Muzawari, Ahmed Abdul Latif i Abdul Aziz Agha. Population 3,450 including 600 Jews and 300 Beni Gara Christians.

Village Name	Population	Village Head	Map co-ords (1/4" map Series)
Harbeck (Harik)	180	Isa Agha	ZA 38 03
Manura	60	"	
Kirkas	60	"	
Diralog	40	"	
Esbezar	300	"	
Sheri	40	Rashid Sheri	
Serkeel	60		
Sartel	200		
Bourgi	130		
Kohersi	180		
Rashana	300		

(Rashana) ZA 35 10

XI (Cont'd.)

Village Name	Population	Village Head	Map co-ords (1/4" map Series)
Dirki	140		
Siri	90		
Karkouri	80		
Tyinki	50		
Karkou	50		(Gara) ZA1201
Kara	100		(Gara) ZA 15 00
Zio Sadat	100		
Biluni	120		
Kouzi	220		(Guzi) ZF 2498
Bahal	50		
Sarky	40		ZF 38 96
Rodny	60		(Radinia) ZF3096
Shirana	130		(Sheranah) ZF3496
Zabouqa	100		
Hazri	40		(Hazri) ZF 35 95
Beckgala	60		
Bilgaib	100		
Sh. Mama	120		ZA 02 08
Kouli	40		
Kanelka	120		(Kanike) ZA 0206
Zabouh	80		

XII BILMAS

A tribal confederation comprising in Iraq the Piran, Ako, Mangur, and Pizhder, and in Persia the Mangur, Zaza, Debukri, Mamash, and Mukrian. The chief of the confederation is Hassan Agha i Mohammed Amin Agha i Mamand Agha.

XIII BINDIAN

The name means "sons of the followers of Jesus." A small group of ex-Christians inhabiting the Dizai Agha area and allied to the Jellili family of Mosul. They were converted to Islam about 150 years ago at the same time and probably because their patrons, the Jellili found it politically and commercially profitable to become Muslim.

Village Names	Map co-ords., 1:100,000 sheets
Khidr Jija	HY 805 285
Demarkar	HY 870 336
Lawel	HY 826 278
Az i Khan	HY 753 259
Kuna Sicura	HY 698 232

A few of the Bindian reside in Qurshaqlu. These people are characterized by an excessive and aggressive pugnacity.

XIV BOT

Of Turkish origin from Jezirah. Population 1,800. Present head Majid Agha i Abdul Rahman. Resident in area south of Agra.

Village Names	Population	Village Head	Landowner	Map co-ords.
Copulan	420	Hamad agha	Yunis Siyala & partners	
Shemsamiz	100	Omar Galli	Asif Eff	
Bahairok	40	Aziz	Ali Agha Barjeir	
Goraf	30	Mhd. Sharif	Majid Agha Galok	
Girdaban	450	Mhd. Najim Agha	" " "	ZF 33 63 39
Galokbot	170	Arab Agha	Mhd. Najim Agha	ZF 30 83 35
Dosira	200	Muktar Mhd.	Yunis Siyala	ZF 24 53 62

XIV (Cont'd.)

Village Names	Population	Village Head	Landowner	Map Co-ords.
Derbendbot	100	Ahmed Piriknan	Yunis Siyala	ZF 26 63 23
Biraspee	130	Abdul Rahman Alo	" "	ZF 25 53 26
Kanihurch	50	Mhd. Agha	Mhd. Najim Agha	ZF 28 92 89
Tailan	250	Aziz Agha	Nachim el Umari	

XV
DERGELLA

Chief of the tribe is Mir Mohammed Amin Beg of Dergella village

Village Names	No. of Houses	Map co-ords. 1:100,000 sheets
Dargella	90	G 310 503
Kalaita	30	G 315 470
Warta	150	G 350 433
Razhi Kariyan	40	G 349 497 (?)
Nowkhrab	7	
Khanaka	10	G 357 473
Serderra	40	G 369 489
Razanaka	10	G 324 531
Chomray Knin	10	G 350 509
Bersireen	15	G 270 568
Mawilian	40	G 250 551
Pash Koz	5	G 329 531

The following villages have not been checked and are questionably Dergella.

Sirmawa	G 379 475
Bergirka	G 383 450
Dilman	G 412 4444
Chumsok	G 430 450
Sulan	G 279 490
Warakawan	G 245 568

Due to uncertainty regarding the above villages, the west and south west limits of the tribe have not been drawn.

XVI
DIZAI AGHAS

The term "tribe" as applied to the peoples living between the greater and lesser Zab rivers northeast of Qarah Chuag Dagh, would seem to be a misapplication of the term "tribe." There are no Dizai tribesmen and the only people who can lay any claim to be rightfully called "Dizai" are the land owning Aghas of the area. The peasant and landowning farmer villagers of the area are a hodge-podge of tribal peoples both younger and older in residential age than the Aghas of the Dizai and they range in blood from Arab to ancient Christian to Kurd. The people of the area may be loosely called a tribe in that anyone of them outside the Dizai area will term himself a Dizai and the Dizai Aghas do, through their financial and political position, command a certain amount of respect and obedience from the peasant. The Aghas also feel a certain obligation toward their tenants as regards their safety and well being. None the less, the various tribesmen under the Dizai Aghas still look to their ancient leaders if those exist, and these leaders constitute a perpetual menace to Dizai leadership—a fact well proved by Dizai Agha intrigue aimed at preventing unified action by any one tribe or combination of friendly tribes.

A brief history of the area will serve to make the situation clear. The first Dizai, one Karini Agha and his sons of the Mamundi nomads of Persia, served under the Persian, Napoleon, Nadir Shah, and is said to have entered the area during the Shah's Iraqi campaign of 1745. Karini and his sons looked on the region and it appeared good and they settled at Qosh Teppeh. From this point

they started expanding. Expansion northeast was probably prevented by the Gurdi tribe which was then as now a well knit and closed corporation but south-westward expansion into an area of smaller tribes was possible. At that time the present Dizai area was reputedly inhabited by the Siyan Kurds, the Mama Sayni Kurds, the Rozh Barani Kurds and a variety of nomad and semi-nomad Arabs as well as a small but pugnacious number of Christians who are not Arabs and are not probably Kurdish. The Arab tribes numbered among them the Tai, Harb, Jabburi, Le Hail, Filita allied to the Tai, Sada and Sada Naim.

It is difficult to see how Karini and his sons managed to establish themselves but probably by marriage, purchase and co-ercion, pitting one party against another, it was done and the time of Kor Pasha, 1826-38, they were apparently well in control of the area, so much so that this worthy deemed it worthwhile to hand three of them. Territorial expansion was continued and the last bit took place within memory of the older inhabitants when Ibrahim Agha and his brother Khurshid of the Bize section, evicted the Arabs from the Makmur area with a reported formidable slaughter of Tai, Jabbur and Snammur.

Early on in the history of the family, divisions among Karini Agha's descendants occurred. These are indicated in the genealogical table. The first split occurred between the sons of Karini's oldest son Mahmud. Kakahan and Faris formed the Kakahan and Faris sections which exist and are far from friendly today. Kakahan's son Mankhouls then disagreed with his nephew Kakahan and the Kakahan section was split into subsections, a division still recognized but not productive of friction. Later, the famous Hajji Bize created the Bize section and still later the Mussain Agha section arose. A fifth branch called the Ibrahim section is recognized and the two small villages occupied by the section are really the only ones justifiably called Dizai in the area as the inhabitants are all descendants of Ibrahim Agha, second son of the first Karini Agha. The section is small and poor and is generally deprecatingly spoken of. It is characterized by tall, lean hawk beaked men who look remarkably similar. A recent Faris subsection has been created by the descendants of Shaikh Uzman in opposition to Marouf Agha, head of the section.

The Dizai Aghas have apparently not given their daughters in marriage outside the family, but have not hesitated to go abroad for wives, finding many of them among the Knoshmao, while the Bize section Aghas demeaned themselves by taking Arab Tai girls to wife, a fact forcibly stated when discussing the shortcomings and vices of the present Bize section head, Moushir Agha and his cousins.

The name Dizai is probably the name of the town or region in Persia from which Karini Agha came. The Siyan people, however, maintain it is derived from diz- thief- but they are probably prejudiced in their judgement. The present position of the Dizai Aghas is that of wealthy landowners who reside on and care for their property. Their power outside the area, due to lack of unity among themselves, is measured by the wealth they command. Hence, the Mussain Agha section has more outside influence, being wealthiest, than the other numerically stronger sections. It is doubtful if the Dizai would ever play a decisive role in any movement political or otherwise. On the map the area of the Dizai Aghas is shown with definite boundaries. This is only relatively true. On the south, the lesser Zab forms a real boundary and the western boundary is the west slope of the Qarah Chauq Dagh. The Dizai Agha villages are in this area only slightly intermingled with non-Dizai Agha Kurds and Arabs but some intermingling exists. On the north and east, however, a very vague boundary exists and the boundary fixed on the map is conservative in that it shows the outer limit of nearly solid Dizai Agha ownership. Considerable land is owned by the Aghas outside the boundary shown and many villagers will claim Dizai tribal ties.

Within the boundary are shown the existing limits of minor tribes. In the rest of the area the population is mixed. Ownership of the various Dizai sections is indicated as follows:

- Map number 1 Bize Agha section
2 Kakehan section
3 Faris Agha section
4 Hussain Agha section
5 Iirania Agha section

Here again it is only possible to indicate roughly the ownership by sections as the sections do not own solid blocks of acreage. As shown the map numbers indicate preponderance of ownership by sections. No attempt is made on the map to indicate tribes with one village or villages which are widely scattered. The accompanying tribal lists give the village names of small tribal units.

Internal politics of the area is rather involved. Among the Dizai Aghas, the Bize and Hussain Agha sections are not at all friendly and land boundary disputes have, on occasions led to bloodshed. Faris Agha and Kakehan and Bize are mutually hostile and Faris Agha and Bize have shed each others blood. Within the Faris Agha section, the descendants of Shaikh Usman are antagonistic to the theoretical head of the section, Marouf Agha.

The Siyan and Mama Sayni people of the area are not friendly toward any of the Dizai Agha sections but antagonisms within the tribes make them easy subjects for internal dissension created by the Aghas. The Roza Barani and the tribal elements are too few in numbers to create any problems and too divided in their interests to be able to unite in a common front. External relations of the area are liable to be dictated by the course adopted by the various sections of the Aghas. If, for instance, Bize Aghas adopt a course, it is pretty sure to be opposed by the others. In the present war, Bize Aghas are standing on a reputation for being pro-British built up in 1920, and while the other sections all profess the same feelings, they would do anything to undermine the Bize Agha influence.

Bize Aghas are related by marriage to the Tai Arabs and Khoshnaw Kurds; one Faris Agha of Shaikh Usman subsection is related to Khoshnaw by marriage. Hussain Agha section is at present allied to the house of Mulla Effendi, Erbil, whereas in the past, Bize Aghas held this alliance. Hussain Agha section chief, Khedr Achmet, is a deputy to parliament, a position formerly held for ten years by Hussain i Mulla, Bize Agha section. Inasmuch as the Hussain Agha section hold the deputyship, it was Bize Agha section who welcomed Mulla Mustafa in Erbil, thereby, in a measure aligning themselves with the anti-government faction, but in reality merely signifying their anti-Hussain Agha feeling.

A summary of the area's confused history as near as the writer can piece it together follows:

Original inhabitants are the Siyan, Mama Sayni, Roza Barani Kurds, the Bindian Christians and Tai, Le Naib, Filite, Arab, Simbis and Jabbur Arabs. Following the advent of the Dizai Aghas, the following peoples entered the area in small numbers.

- Shirwani from Barzan
Ali Kurki from Batas, a subsection of the Batas Surchi
Faqe Mureni from Persia
Shaikh Mamundi of the Bilbas
Mamundi from Agra
Sofian from Koi Sanjak
Palani from Kifri
Gallali, subsection of the Jaf nomads
Mukbiza of the Bilbas
Sulmani of the Batas Surchi
Shaikh Yezidis from Shaikhnan

The Christian Bindian and the Yezidis have, in a measure, accepted Islam.

XVI a
Dizai Agnas
RIDE SECTION
Map ref. Dizai Agnas 1

Chieftainship of the section is actually vested in Hussain i Mula due to bad character of Moushir Agha, the rightful head.

Names of villages	No. of houses	Agha	Map co-ords., 1:100,000 sheets
Dugurd Khan Rahman	60	Rahman Agha	HZ 052 516
" " Hamid Amin	50	Hamid Amin Agha	
" " Haj Ali	50	Haj Ali Agha	
Kazikanah	80	Hussain Agha	HZ 072 418
Kaznazan	50	Agha Agha	HY 987 457
Bakirta	70	Mustafa Agha	H 2007 492
Pir Daoud	50	Agha Agha	HZ 050 565
Duserra Fetau	35	Fetau Agha	HZ 020 568
Qaritan	70	Haj Jukul Agha	HZ 050 629
Helawi Moushir	50	Moushir Agha	HY 911 540
Helawi Ahmed	50	Ahmed Agha	
Siao	40	Moushir Agha	HY 880 570
Brahim Lok	10	Hussain Agha	
Sebiran	35	Ado Agha	
Qulteppah Darwish	60	Rashid Agha	HZ 130 450
Bir Araban	20	Subir Agha	HZ 110 442
Girdi Gomi	30		HY 809 425
Chighamira	90	Kanobi Agha	HY 895 304
Sekutchan	30	Nuri Agha	HY 940 258
Kaplan	50	Ali Agha	HY 975 280
Lenuiban	50	Haj Shoma Agha	HY 960240
Shahal	50	Ali Agha	
Khrabai Mustafa	15		
Pilkenah	30	Jamil Agha	HZ 105 241
Jana	55	Achmet Agha	HY 968 385
Kendalalak	50	Hussain Agha	HY 930 320
Tel Halala	10	Ali Agha	
Mulla Umr	50	Burnan Agha	
Duserra Mustafa	10	Mustafa Agha	
Khushaw	40	Nuri Agha	HY 900 226
Derbend i mal i Bizo	10		
Garabasa	10	Sabir Agha	
Konasi Korz	20	Achmet Agha	
Mahmal Unaran	20	Said Agha	HY 736 172

XVI b
Dizai
KAKAHAN AND HAKKHOULA SECTIONS
Map ref., Dizai Agnas 2

Kakahan section
Chief of section is Ali Agha of Mardka

Village Names	No. of Houses	Agha	Map co-ords., 1:100,000 sheets
Gurdmulla	70	Shaikh Mohammed Agha	HZ 154 549
Sardacht	20		
Mardka	30	Ali Agha	HZ 158 598
Palania	30	Tahir Agha	HY 725 352
Pungina	20	Hadi Agha	ZF 821 019
Bakheha	5	"	ZF 885 070
Sorija	35	Haj Amin Agha	HY 999 543
Sorbash Kakala	40	Hamza Agha	HY 993 563
Qush Teppah Kienka	10	Sabir Agha	HZ 107 547

Mamkhoulah section

Chief of section is Sulaiman Agha of Dibega

Village names	No. of Houses	Agha	Map co-ords, 1:100,000 sheets
Dibega	150	Sulaiman Agha	HY 926 407
Suf i Ismail	25	Namliq Agha	HY 865 376
Qaritan	25	Ism il Agha	HY 987 628
Chil Hawaiza	30	Qadr Agha	HY 903 439
Shorija	40	Aziz Agha	HY 866 470
Gara sor	40	Farnan Agha	ZF 750 020

XVI c

Diz i Aghas
FARIS AGHA SECTION
Map ref., Dizai Aghas 3

Marouf Agha of Merghozar village is chief of the section.

Village names	No. of Houses	Agha	Map co-ords., 1:100,000
Shora Zerdka	75	Qadr Agha	HY 755 526
Bira Barazan	30	Said Agha	HY 723 441
Sayid Obeid	80	Ibrahim Agha	HY 762 511
Berzowar	20	Agha Agha	HY 798 556
Zemzemok	50	Hassan Agha	HY 766 585
Khurmala	40	Hussain Agha	HY 880 456
Ismail Agha	20		HY 788 529
Bakerta Karach	10	Marouf Agha	
Awayna	80	Hassan Agha	HY 826 613
Shaikh Sherwan	80	Ismail Agha	HY 857 583
Nogharan	40	Anver Agha	ZF 408 070
Gird Azaban	80 I	Ibrahim Agha	HY 950 550
Tirpa Sipiyan	40	Achmet Agha	HZ 038 528
Duqela Moushir	50	Moushir agha	HZ 066 470
Merghozar	50	Marouf Agha	HZ 055 564
Goska	40	Hassan Agha	HZ 086 573
Qosh Teppah Sulaiman	20	Sulaiman Agha	
Batirpakh	15		
Sorbash Alo	25	Ismail Agha	
Doghan	20	Achmet Agha	HY 961 559
Pir Mash	21	Ismail Agha	ZF 784 130 (?)
Khazna	25	Hussain Agha	HY 831 435

XVI d

Dizai Aghas
HUSSAIN AGHA SECTION
Map ref., Dizai Aghas 4

Chief of the section is Khedr Achmet Pasha of Sorbash Khidr village

Village names	No. of Houses	Agha	Map co-ords., 1:100,000 sheets
Gozapanka	100	Abdulla Agha	HY 824 405
Girdashina	50	Qadr Agha	HY 769 352
Malik Agha	30	Khidr Beg	HY 758 379
Aola Gujilan	80	Aziz Agha	HY 925 278
Cheltuq	15	Alo Agha	HY 942 303
Palinga	70	Sulaiman Agha	HZ 070 545
Qursnaqlu	100	Agha Agha	HZ 035 457
Sorbash Khidr	80	Khidr Beg	HZ 063 447
Basn teppa	100	Qadr Beg	HZ 110 395
Shaikhnan	100	Mahmud Beg	HZ 165 348

XVI d (Cont'd.)

Village names	No. of Houses	Agha	Map co-ords
Garra Shaikhan	50	Shaikh Mohammed Agha	HZ 188 461
Dolabekra	50	Muhammed Agha	HZ 165 478
Chargoman	5	Aziz Agha	
Maghsusha	15	Mahmud Beg	HZ 186 315
Shirawa	15		HZ 070 620
Girdlanki Sirawa	50	Said Agha	HZ 152 372
Girdlanki Birawa	40	Majid Agha	HZ 158 387
Girda Shina Hassan	100	Hassan Agha	HZ 159 380
Tatarawa	70	Salim Agha	HZ 150 416
Senala	50	Uzman Agha	HZ 184 421
Omarawa	80	Ibrahim Agha	HZ 196 379
Demarkar	50	Kakil Agha	HY 870 336 Villagers are Bindian
Muhawali	30	Ismail Agha	HZ 170 197

XVI f

Dizai Aghas

IBRAHIM AGHA SECTION

Map Reference 5

Kurrenduru HY 70 04 70
Nazir HY 71 54 57

XVII

DOLAMURRI OR DALAMAIRI

Small tribal group of Rowanduz area. Chief is Asad Agha i Rasul Agha of Shaitna village.

Village names	No. of Houses	Map co-ords., 1:100,000 sheets
Shaitna	20	G 068 737
Khoshkan	5	G 100 697
Shairakian	10	G 098 719
Shaikhmanuk	10	G 064 748
Bobil	10	
Dolka	4	
Ashkaftuan	5	G 057 731
Fisidir	3	
Mazna	4	G 080 700
Jiska	5	
Lailok	4	G 028 764
Faquiyan	5	G 153 710
Eskel	4	
Naumergan		G 010 762
Khrdin		G 000 769

XVIII

DOSKI

Inhabit region of Donuk. Are under domination of Said Agha Doski whose family came into the area from Cnia tribe of Hakkari, Turkey. Village lists are incomplete.

In addition to Kurds, there are small numbers of Assyrians, Jews and Armenians in the area.

XIX
FAGI MURKI OR FAGA MURTKA

Scattered villages in the Dizai Agna area of a tribe which attempted to settle in Kandinawa (area of Dibega town) after entering the area from Persia. They were attacked and evicted by the Mama Sayna and Siyen. They were apparently at least encouraged in their efforts by the Dizai Agnas, because two of these, Kawiz and Karini, sons of Mulla, the fourth grandson of the original Karini Agna, were killed by the Mama Sayna. The Fagi Murki, after their defeat, left the area and scattered to the following places.

Village Names	No. of Houses	Map co-ords.	1:100,000 sheets
Gamish Tappeh	70	HY 691 645	Home of Kokna Umar i Riza, Chief (Map name Saiyid Amin)
Sedamin	25	HY 788 608	
Koshaf	50		
Hawarghal	15		

XX
GAISH

Originated in Kifri area. 400 people live in Agra area under Ahmed Agna i Ismail Agna. Another group lives in Shaikhun area and scattered small numbers in the Tigris plains area.

Village name	Population	Village Head	Owner	Map co-ords.
Rafee	190	Ahmed Agna	Ahmed Agna and Mal i Ahmed Eff	
Baklama	25	Abdul Aziz	Abdul Aziz	
Saygrik	20	Ahmed Qadir	Yunis Siyara	ZF 36 75 75
Qaliya	200	Saeed Haji Saleh	Sh. Kutro	ZF 33 06 01
Hazarjift	250	Yunis Abdul Rahman Farid eff.,	Mosul	ZF 30 66 12
Hasti	100	Haji Mamosh	Septa	
Bamizri	105	Taha Ismail	Hamid Eff., Mosul	ZF 27 35 78
Asmawa Kichka	90	Khurshid	Asad Eff. el Umari	ZF 25 64 81
Asmawa Gowra	160	Qadir Khano	Asad Eff. el Umari	ZF 27 34 98
Dobayjan Gowra	100	Sahalamara	Yunis & Ali Eff.	ZF 27 15 21
Nazrawa	100	Yunis Haji Ghazal	Mal i Sahol Moslawi	
Barchaaoosh	150	Khalil Mhd. Amin	Haji Hussein Chelabi Moslawi	ZF 35 35 53
Jojir Gowra	200	Abdul Wahab	Haji Qadir Eff. &	ZF 38 15 49
Jojir Kichka	100	Badr el Moslawi	Amin Agna Ali eff & Yunis	ZF 39 05 40
Khamees Kichka	25	Mnd. Tahir	Salim Moslawi	
Bartour	40	Khalil Yunis	Mustafa Saleh	
Tobzuwa	80	Haji Ghazal	Sh. Raqib &	ZF 44 44 80
Bulakhan	100	" "	Salehagha Sh. Raqib	

XXI
GULI
(See also under Slivani)

The guli tribe is divided on family basis into two sections, the Saidahr under Marouf Saduun of Berzurk vil age and the Guli section under Sulaiman Agna of Shaikhosnk at present. Sulaiman's authority is however, frequently eclipsed by that of Hajji Saduq of Bahnuma. Both sections and all leaders of the tribe are in a measure under the authority of Hazim Beg of the Slivani. Tribal ties are tenuous and it is doubtful that a tribal call could make the people act as a unit under their present chiefs.

Sulaiman Agha of Shaikhoshk has the following known descent:

Gravi Agha
:
Osman Agha
:
Gargari Agha
:
Amad Agha
:
Hussain Agha
:
Ismail Agha
:
Yunis Agha
:
Sulaiman Agha, present chief
:
Malko Agha Yunis Agha

Hajji Saduq, Sulaiman Agha's rival to power is the grandson of one Faris and son of Bero Agha.

XXI a
Guli
SAID/HR SECTION
Map ref., Guli 1

Marouf Saduunof Berzurk is the chief of the section

Village names	No. of Houses	
Berzurk	15	
Bildesha	10	
Guvuk	25	Owned by Sulaiman Agha of Shaikhoshk
Meske	20	" " " " " "
Guldya	5	" " " " " "

XXI b
Guli
GULI SECTION
Map ref., Guli 2

Sulaiman Agha of Shaikhoshk is Chief of the Section.

Village Names	No. of Houses	
Shaikhoshk	15	Sulaiman Agha
Derishk	3	
Aveheh	25	
Zereza	20	
Domka	50	
Sirki Bezirah	20	
Shalun	10	
Sholan	25	
Kashan	40	Jengir Agha, cousin of Sulaiman Agha
Sulay	40	
Mezdur	20	
Ruesay	15	
Shudin	15	Christian
Begova	10	
Nadrmik	10	
Rewan	10	
Kauka	10	
Bilijan	30	Taha Abdur Rahman Agha, second in command to Sulaiman

Village Names	No. of Houses	
Barnul	6	
Bartufa	40	
Dahila	6	
Khondug	10	
Khokguli	15	
Bahnuna	20	Hajji Sadug
Mella Arab	30	Christian

XXII
GURDI

The tribe is divided into two sections, a northern or Erbil and southern or Koi Sanjak division. Chief of the northern group is Bize Jamil agha of Baherka village while Mamand Agha of Ashkaftsuka rules the southern section. The tribe, however, appears well knit and matters of policy are decided after consultation between the sections. The Gurdi and their Aghas are apparently among the older residents of the region and Aghas and tribesmen claim common origin. The Aghas have seldom married outside the tribe and are reputed to have never allowed a woman of the Aghas' family to marry outside the tribe. The Gurdi have frequently been embroiled in quarrels with the small Kora tribe to the east and with the Khoshnao. Their relations with the Herki are none too good and there is also bad blood between them and the Dizai Aghas. Apparently much of their disagreeable relations can be traced to their original quarrels with the Kora, which, through its alliance with the Khoshnao has maneuvered the Gurdi into a position of unfriendliness with the Khoshnao and all the friends of this numerous tribe.

Villages of the Northern Section

Names of villages	No. of Houses	Map co-ords.	Aghas and land-owners
Baherka	100	ZF 695 223	Bize Jamil Agha
Kalakan	20	ZF 705 195	Bize Agha
Shaikashil	10	ZF 670 196	Osman Jamil Agha
Girdjotiyar	15	ZF 652 173	Abbas Bakul Agha
Ashokan Abbas	10		
Ashokan Mamrasul	15	ZF 597 227	Mamrasul Hamad Amin Agha
Gordarak	20	ZF 630 255	Osman Hassan Agha
Jaynikan Arab Agha	20	ZF 660 257	Abu bekr Agha
Jaynikan effendi	20		Salah Omar Agha
Jaynikan Najim	10	ZF 620 261	Najim Sadeq Agha
Showzari	30		Abu Bekr Agha
Kolamurtik	15	ZF 752 261	Qadr Agha
Bulagh	50	ZF 776 217	Bize Agha of baherka
Girdachal	10	ZF 595 270	Karasul Hassan Agha
Girdapan	10	ZF 600 268	Hassan Hamad Amin Agha
Girdazerd	12	ZF 605 286	
Pirzin	30	ZF 718 164	
Karrik	15	ZF 688 156	
Sharabot	20	ZF 851 150	
Gazna	50	ZF 600 180	Ahmed Hajji Knidr
Daraben	50	ZF 570 213	
Birdhushtir	20	ZF 560 260	
Syidan	40	ZF 542 242	
Showik	20	ZF 796 185	
Mulla Omar	20	ZF 780 198	
Shawaiz	25	ZF 733 142	
Sebiran Gowra	30	ZF 576 145	
Sebiran Kichka	20		

XIII (cont'd)

Names of villages No. of Houses Map co-ords.

Keladga	20		
Kaffir	20	ZF 635 322	
Serka Frok	20		Ali Muktar
Dera Haril	1	ZF 747 337	home of Majid Agha, co- chief of Section
Serakani	10		
Hershini	20	ZF 744 321	Rashid Majid Agha
Pelpitan	20	ZF 693 277	Majid Qasr Agha
Berdbiyan	15	ZF 759 273	Karani Agha
Tobzawa	10	ZF 703 270	Majid Agha
Daresn	10		Majid Agha
Derbend I Sayio	20	ZF 690 316	
Shaikhani		ZF 783 319	
Shuzal		ZF 675 281	
Hanarah		ZF 882 187	
Galyawn		ZF 895 181	
Zarwa		ZF 770 170	
Golak Kichka		ZF 796 169	
Golak Gowra		ZF 790 160	
Aadalberast		ZF 769 146	
Umrava		ZF 592 336	
Serkaor		ZF 601 334	
Shakhulan		ZF 561 301	

Villages of southern section

Ashkaftaka	20	ZF 960 127	Mamand Agha I Shaikh Muhammed Agha
Aliyana	15	ZF 978 106	
Tergolla	10	ZF 980 088	
Pilkarash	15	ZF 906 092	
Hajji Ussu	20	ZF 941 034 and ZF 948 009	
Daygella	20	ZG 002 060	
Hinara	20		
Kenikowan	10	ZF 912 169	
Benawi	15		
Baklain	10	ZF 968 114	
Allawah		ZG 028 084.	

A migratory tribe under Muhammed Hasso Agha. The tribe winters along the east bank of the Tigris in the lower Slivani country and migrates to the Turkish highlands in the summer. Route and summer quarters is not known to the writer.

XXIV
HARUTI

Small group living in the barren Harir Dagh country east of the Khoshnab. The tribe is an unimportant one. Ten families follow a nomadic life, wintering near Sisawa in the dasht i Marir and going to Persia in the summer.

Names of villages No. of Houses Map co-ords. 1:100,000 sheets

Ashkafta	20	G 100 358	
Sharastayna	5	G 099 397	Home of Rawiz Agha, Chief
Talow	5		
Harutian	20	G 111 387	
Benawi	20	G 085 422	
Bawian	25	G 003 460	

Names of villages No. of houses Pop. 1:100,000 sheets

Kharwatan	20	
Herir	20	F 998 402 In addition to the
Herir, there are 25 Assyrian families in Herir. It is also the		
home of the Assyrian bishop, and is itself, a center of considerable		
influence in the entire area.		
Herat Madran		F 984 420
Khanzat Soran		F 985 477 Ruined village
Bila Zhori		G 078 480
Bila Zhori		G 078 480
Tarawan		G 086 490
Sartik		G 100 370
Talina		G 107 470

XXV
HERKI

The nomadic Herki, about 11,000 people in all, are exceedingly powerful tribe, partly due to natural toughness and partly to a good tribal organization and harmony. The tribe is divided into two main sections, the northern or Minda under Saia i Khan and the southern or Sirnasti under Fataah Agha. In addition to the two main divisions, smaller subsections exist, Manda, Ismaili, Majdini, Malapir, Noway. The Sedan section of fifty families under Muhammad Amin Agha has apparently settled in Persia as it did not return from the 1942 summer migration. Other groups of the Herki are also resident in Persia. The tribe is reputed to have originated in Herki in the Zozan country of the Iraq-Persian frontier.

In summer the section led by Fataah Agha settle in the meadows of Howro, Bozi, Sin and Gadir on the Iraqi-Persian frontier. The route followed from their winter camps near Erbil is through Kizgiyen, Dasht i Herir, Khalifan, Dasht i Dian, Serra Birda, Sidakan, Bekaza, Mulk i Sinin, Lolan, Ahinairi, Gadir ending at Golaz. The total population under Fataah Agha is about 8000 people in 700 tents. The stock moved annually is about 20,000 head. Fataah Agha has a summer house at Golaz in Persia and a winter house at Mirakhor near Erbil.

The northern or Minda section, led by Saia i Khan comprises about 3000 people in 400 tents. They winter south of Agra in Suren country from November to the end of April. The land on which they winter is crown property. They sell all wool before the spring migration and in addition sell cheeses, rugs. The tribe summers partly on mountain Chikera Shahidin on the Persian frontier and Turkish frontier. They travel two routes to the summer pasture.

1. Agra to Mahab in Zibar country, Bille, cross the greater Ab, to Shirwan, Kanirash, and thence to Turkey and Persia.
2. Agra to Datar and thence along the same route as the southern section of the tribe.

The Herki were, until this year, at loggerheads with the Zibari and Shirwani, but these quarrels have apparently been patched up.

XXVI
J. BNA

Occupies area south and west of Herir. Present tribal leaders are descendants of one Saia i Khan ul din ul Tokshidiz, who, by all accounts was highly and rightly honoured and respected.

Tribe cultivates rice, tobacco, wheat and corn.

DESCENT OF HERKI AGHAS



* SIGNATURE SECTION ENDS

Village name	Population	Map co-ords on 1/4" sheets.		
Sharni	70			
Bamky	50			
Arz	70			
Ghabash	150			
Sidawa	120	(Saidawa)	YE 98 04	
Rushing	80			
Kurmarq	160	Ibrahim Agha Shabaz		
Kuberaz	200			
Timni	150	(Tini)	YE 99 11	Christian
Daoudia	140		YE 98 09	
Bebnana	150			
Hazikar	80			
Zoroaq	200			
Yerwazan	40			
Hitfinky	80			Christian
Badurky Kaiby	80			
Bacurky Kaify	80			
Dahouk	80			
Barahem Zela	100	(Braimzilla)	ZA 21 07	
Dieri	200	Shamas Ibrahim	ZA 24 10	Christian
Kani	250	Kes Israel	(Kuwan) ZA 24 07	Christian
Mirstiq	50			Christian
Biyadi	280			Christian
Sharika	50			
Yutayia	140			
Fida	300			
Berker	20			
Yusfega	80			
Itshki	200	(Arishken)	ZA 10 12	Christian
Yasi	100			
Hamza	200	Haji Agha Taher Agha	YE 93 13	
Kati Dierak	40			
Sersetk	150			Baimerty Sec.
Sarooraz	120			"
Kandug Ahmed	100			"
Sakriz	80			"
Kaiziata	80			"
Ashouh	90			"
Gelgi	80			"
Badouh	70			"
Ham Bukrah	130			"
Berki	30			"
Rashanky	45			
Shelasri	90			
Suri	140			
Araden	1000	(Aradina)	ZA 06 13	Christians 600
Bamerly	800	(Bamami)	ZA 03 03	

XXVII
KHAILANI

A small nomadic tribe of approximately 100 families. It is ruled by Karim Khan. The tribe winters in the dasht i Harir in the villages listed below and in addition spreads tents in the Kora country on the west slopes of the Pirmum Dagh and a few families go as far as the Mamundi country in the Dizai area. Their route to summer pastures is as follows: from the dasht i Harir to Khalifan, through the Rowanduz gorge, dasht i Dian, Sir i Hassan Beg, Bola Bejwan, Mirakin, Dola Maidan, Ghirgatan, to Spi Rez Dagh on the slopes of which they spend the summer.

Winter quarter villages -

Azeran
Kelekin Khailani
Kassimi
Bebachichek
Sirkant

Co-ords. F 801 495
F 802 410

XXVIII
KHILERI

Eighty people in Agra area without tribal head. Probably part of larger unit of which writer knows nothing.

XXIX
KHOSHNAO

Like the Dizai Aghas, the Khoshnao miranis and Aghas constitute a foreign ruling class over a native population. In this case, however, twenty-five generations of residence have made Aghas and people identical in interests and viewpoints.

The Khoshnao appear first in Balisan village. It is related that one Ambez of the noble Ardalan family of Sinna in Persia, left home with his family and a few followers and travelled westward. He is said to have travelled rapidly due to circumstances that boded him no good in Sinna. He and his followers were well received by the people of Balisan, who are said to have been Christians at this time. Peace was soon broken, however, when Yusuf, Ambez' second son, killed the son of their host, and the matter was only patched up when Ambez gave a daughter in marriage to the ruler of Balisan.

It is said that the refugees prospered. Mahmud, the eldest son, went to the pleasant valley of Shaglawan, Yusuf remained in Balisan and Abdulla, who seems to have been of a solitary or unsociable nature, removed to a distance in the hills. From this original distribution of Ambez' sons arose the present principal Khoshnao sections. Mahmud produced the Mir Mahmali, Yusuf the Mir Yusufi, and Abdulla the Pizigali.

Khoshnao tribal rulers have always been called Mir and the office, hereditary within the family of Ambez originally, has now become the property of the Mir Mahmali. From the system followed, it does not necessarily mean that the son of the deceased Mir will succeed his father. No major family disputes have split the unity of the ruling families although jealousies do exist.

The Haideri family is shown as a separate section for the sole reason that it has produced some of the most famous Khoshnao. The subsection of the Mir Mahmali called the Dobi Baraka is a geographical rather family division. As may be seen from the map, the Khoshnao are a widespread tribal unit and the diplomacy of the various miranis has spread Khoshnao influence far beyond tribal limits. The tribe is related by marriage to the Dizai Aghas and Kora and for reasons of mutual advantage to Kora and the neighboring Surchi. The Surchi south of the greater Zab are more under the influence of the ruling Khoshnao miran than their own Aghas. Friendly relations are also maintained with the powerful Merki and with the Khailani nomads. Khoshnao are anti-pathetic to the Gurdi and are not particularly amiable toward Piran and Ako.

The origin of the name Khoshnao is probably straight Kurdish for "good valley" which the valleys occupied by the tribe most certainly are. It may also mean "good name" and is sometimes jokingly said to mean "no good". A portion of the family tree is enclosed. A written record of family descent was formerly kept, but the volume was destroyed by fire a few years ago. However, the complete record should be on file in British archives as the family history was recorded by Captain Hay, A.P.O. in Erbil in 1919-20. Khoshnao, due to its size and wealth, both actual and potential, could be a mighty factor for progress in Kurdistan. Unfortunately, its leadership over the past two generations has been inept and dithering and the present Miran i Saduq Beg is a reactionary non-entity, who wants all of the old tribal pre-rogatives but wants them handed to him on a platter. This attitude is quite common among the Kurds and is chiefly due to pride which prohibits action that seems to be publicly pushing one's family or tribal fortunes. Any amount of under cover pushing is permitted but not public open self advancement. Closely associated is pride of place which prohibits open competition with an inferior in station. This inferior may be disposed of but not competed with. Saduq Beg has these Kurdish vices in abundance in addition to a sloth and flabbiness all his own, and under him, Khoshnao will always be just another backward tribe.

[illegible]

MAHMUD* ... PASHA ABDULLAH* - AHMED-
Mirmahmud Section
(Eighteen generations are unknown
between Mahmud and Pasha Abdullah.)

BAGIR-----HAMAD*
(Mokhammad Koza,
acting Mr dur-
ing minority of
Mireni Mamud Beg)

(Killed by
Ker Pasha
1826-38)

KHIDR
AZIZ
HUSSEIN
MUSTAFA
HASSAN
AHMED
ALI

IBRUHIT

ISMAIL

BLIZ* -

Abstract

RUZHI

CHDR# —

UN

HAZARD LISTING

Results

— ABDULLAH —

SUMMARY

S:ID —

1941

MS:IID

2000
 2001

TAMIR

RESULTS

THURSDAY

KUALA

YOSTITE

УДМУД

FIELD

1

XXIXa
Khosha-o
MIRAN I SADIQ SECTION
Map ref. Khosha-o 1

Co-chiefs of the section are Miran i Saduq Beg who is also chief of all Khosha-o and Miran i Saduq Beg, both of Chah Lash village

Village names	No. of houses	Map Co-ords., 1:100,000	
Shaqilwan	600	ZF 955 304	Home of the ruling Miranis
Spigla	60	ZF 996 287	Amir Beg
Garata	30	ZG 061.10	Owned by Saduq Beg. Kokha Aziz Chief
Iren	80	ZG 097 174	Owned by village head Amir Beg of Baghdad
Baylingi	50		Owned by Mustaf Beg of Baghdad
Kamosik	40	G 142 171	Owned by Kokha Qadr and Family
Friz	25	ZG 103 218	Owned by villagers and Kokha Muhammad
Targallo	15	ZG 003 306	Owned by Saleh Beg
Kawania	20	4F 923 324	Owned by Saleh Beg. Kokha Mustafa Chief
Garawan Mir Mahmal	30	ZG 027 318	Owned by Mir Mahmal Family and Kokha Muhammad
Mir Rostana	20		Owned by Mir Mustafa, Sadiq and Abdul Rahman
Kasuroq	4	ZF 990 378	Mir Mahmal Family Property
Kowirjesik	10	ZF 960 364	Sadiq Beg Property
Sheenawa	7	ZG 010 322	Mir Mahmal property
Shawayalan	5		Owned by Sadiq Mahmal and Mir Mahmal
Sisawa	40	ZG 001 405	Owned by Abdul Rahman Beg
Fata Ana	10		Owned by Abdul Rahman Beg
Ali Sida	6		Owned by Achmet Beg
Susura	25	ZG 060 151	Owned by Mir Mahmal Family
Belisan Mir Mahmal	50		Owned by Karim Beg
Shiremok	10		Owned by Hussein Shadikh Rasul
Balaquo	20		Owned by Hajji Mustafa and Family
Tutma	40	G 135 335	Owned by Ali Beg
Knuti	50	G 120 359	Owned by Tanir Beg
Kelasinj Uliya	60	ZF 947 260	Owned by Khurshid Beg
Kelasinj Sifila	30	ZF 949 236	Owned by Karim Beg
Sulowk	10	ZG 017 193	Owned by Villagers and Kokha Qadr, Chief
Kirzha	50	ZF 920 234	Owned by Kokha Mawlud and Khurshid Beg
Biroqan	10	ZG 050 179	Owned by Karim Beg. Kokha Ismail chief
Ziarat	50	ZG 010 196	Owned by Karim Beg
Dorbend i Gomaspan	10	ZF 960 170	Owned by Sadiq Beg
Sebaroq	1		Owned by Saduq Beg
Gomaspan	20	ZF 925 167	Owned by Saduq Beg
Mujran	10	ZF 900 325	Owned by Saduq Beg
Naosaroq	10		Owned by Karim Beg of Ziarat
Bashuri Zayiri	10		Owned by Mir Mahmal Family
Malakan	40	G 126 385	Owned by Khurshid Beg
Arsadik		ZF 925 416	
Shadikh Mahmudiyan Khosha-o		ZG 027 375	

XXIXb
Khoshnabo
Mir Mahmal Section
TOBI BARKA SUBSECTION
Map ref., Khoshnabo 1

Village names No. of Houses Map co-ords.

Aspindera	50	ZG 080 249	Owned by Sheikh Muhammad Agha
Kawartian	15	ZG 052 276	Owned by villagers and Hajji Ali
Haji Malik	2		Owned by Saduq Beg
Baraka	30	ZG 035 294	Owned by Khurshid Agha and Hajji Ali
Lassa	7	ZF 985 516	Owned by Saduq Beg
Chinairan	20	ZG 003 276	Owned by villagers and Hajji Agha
Akoben Uliya	10	ZG 040 258	Owned by Saduq Beg
Akoben Sufia	30		Owned by Villagers
Punjina	25	ZG 043 227	Owned by Villagers. Kozna Ismail, Chief

XXIXc
Khoshnabo
Maideri Family
Map ref., Khoshnabo 2

Head of the Maideri family villages is Salah Agha i Azo Agha

Village Names No. of Houses Map co-ords., 1:100,000 sheets

Mawaran	60	ZF 935 348	Owned by Salah Agha
Palinga	40	ZF 888 389	Owned by Salah Agha
Kohna Mawaran		ZF 907 369	Owned by Salim Agha i Ahmed Agha

XXIXd
Khoshnabo
Mir Yusufi Section
Map ref., Khoshnabo 3

Head of the Section is Rashid Beg of Balisan Mir Yusufi

Village Names No. of Houses Map co-ords., 1:100,000 sheets

Balisan Mir Yusufi	50	G 149 313	Owned by Rashid Beg
Kodala	20	G 262 140	Owned by Qadr Beg
Motlawa Ibranim Beg	20	ZF 991 424	
Rezgu	20	ZF 951 420	Owned by Shaikh Muhammad Beg
Bashur Obaid Beg	30	F 911 458	
Bashur Shaikh Muhammad	20		
Khoran	100	ZF 974 235	Owned by Mamu Beg i Mir n i Salah Beg
Gerdgoran	25	G 259 100	Owned by Salim Beg
Darasn	25	G 150 293	Owned by Hamad Beg
Kolka Rash	1	G 150 168	Owned by Mahmud Beg
Qadion	50		Owned by Nur ud Din Beg
Shira	40	G 101 322	Owned by Ahmed i Omar Beg
Basirim	5	ZF 987 409	Owned by Ahmed i Shaikh Amin
Baylawa	50	G 182 322	Owned by Taha i Omar Beg
Yunka	10	ZF 010 130	Owned by Nafiz Beg i Ismail Beg
Kaniberd	20	G 161 330	Owned by Rashid Beg of Balisan
Shaikh Kusan	60	G 158 348	Owned by Rashid Beg of Balisan
Sikten	100	G 111 131	Owned by Rashid Beg of Balisan, Kokha Hassan and Kokha Mustafa
Hana Jelka	25	ZF 999 361	Owned by villagers. Hajji Muhammad, Chief.

XXIX
PIZHIGALI SECTION
Map ref., K. 40. 4

Head of the section is Amur Beg of Betwata

Village Names No. of Houses Map co-ords., 1:100,000 sheets

Herruk	30	G 215 287
Chewa Zyori	40	
Chewa Zyairi	25	
Betwata	70	G 290 243
Zuywa	20	
Shikarta	10	G 308 208
Baylinga	15	G 274 165
Naywa	25	G 258 180
Nara	25	G 218 258
Millog	10	G 206 272
Awdair	10	G 137 214
Nuawa	35	G 231 241
Kyeska	50	
Sardka	50	
Sewairi	20	G 180 280
Andek	15	G 302 245
Kuni Towan	15	G 288 110
Kuna Flusa	100	G 149 200
Angos	25	G 319 221
Bayru	15	
Sirokani	10	
Baykyel	15	G 273 265
Girda sher	10	G 199 168
Hertel	50	G 267 288
Barrozha	10	G 251 286
Benatan	10	G 235 268
Khalifa	10	G 302 130
Sirdo	40	G 210 215

XXX
KORA

A small tribe living on the north slopes of Pirmun Dagh and in the flanking valleys of the Bastura Chai and Rubat Kara. Its relatively small size made necessary alliances against aggression and for years they have been very closely connected with their neighbours, the Khoshnaw and through this alliance, on friendly terms with the southern Surchi, Berki and Diani Agnas. Kora Agnas have married Khoshnaw girls but have not apparently given girls in marriage. The tribe is reputed to have migrated to its present home from Insilkash, Persia, and is supposed to have been a part of the Dibukri member of the Bilbas confederation.

Descent of the Agnas' family is as follows:

Aula Mawalu				Hamad	
Hasul				Mussain	
Mhd. Amin				Mustafa	
Mustafa	Adir	Majid*	Rasul	Asad	Khurshid
Aula	Jamil	Karim	Murad		
	Pasha	Mushir	Farhan		
	Nuri	Jowir			
		Fetah			

*present chief, married to Khoshnaw girl

XXX (Cont'd.)

Village Names	No. of Houses	Map co-ords., 1:100,000 sheets
Kora	50	F 873 306
Girdachal	15	ZF 898 318
Girdasher	50	ZF 920 264 and F 914 277
Biraish	50	ZF 897 262
Almawan	25	ZF 856 317
Zirjones	30	ZF 833 337
Ashga	40	ZF 825 345
Ziyarat i Kora	30	ZF 796 351
Gallawa	75	ZF 816 283
Banaman	15	ZF 820 260
Saywoken	20	ZF 820 247
Garow	50	ZF 872 235
Dongizawa	10	ZF 842 226
Shaikh Mahmudiyan i Kora		ZF 812 367

XXXI

Small group from the Lek tribe of the Iraqi-Persian frontier area in the south. They are ruled by one Koka. S day of Kaska village and live in the region immediately east of the Dizai Agha country along the north banks of the lesser Zab river.

Village Names	No. of Houses	Map co-ords., 1:100,000 sheets
Aziyana	20	HZ 278 449
Kushka	100	HZ 293 374
Khorkhora	30	HZ 325 363
Pelkanah	10	HZ 338 423
Jadida	60	
Minura	12	
Kani Sulimana	20	HZ 385 400
Bardaspi	40	HZ 396 418
Darmanawa Zukhir	30	
Darmanawa Kabir	60	
Doshirwan	30	

XXXII

MAMA SAYNA

The Mama Sayna, though small, is one of the more respected tribes of the Dizai Agha area. They are of the original inhabitants and with the Biyan, present an element of trouble to the Dizai. During the eviction of the Faqi Murki tribe from the Dibega area, the Mama Sayna killed Kawiz and Karini Aghas, who were apparently leading the Faqi Murki.

Ibrahim Agha i Ahmed Agha of Sergaran village is chief of the tribe.

Village Name	No. of Houses	Map co-ords., 1:100,000 sheets
Sergaran	100	HZ 002 114
Daoud Gurga	50	HY 991 199
Kandal Kutni	20	HY 974 180
Sulaiman Bakshun	40	Y 967 200
Dusira	5	
Hamza Agha	5	
Kalata Soran	5	
Girdi Rawan	10	

XXXIII
MAMGAL

Sixty families of nomads under Mamal i Balbi. The tribe is a part of the Badinan or Aqra Surchi. They winter in the Surchi country near Aqra and summer in the region of Kelashin on the Iraqi-Persian frontier. They usual travel with the Herki people. The route to their summer pasture is as follows: From Aqra to Sirkowir where the greater Zab is crossed by ferry; Chira, Babachichik, Dasht i Harir, Khalifan, Rowanduz gorge road, Dashti Dian, Air i Birda, Sidakan, Bir Bizin, Merganin, Kelashin.

XXXIV
MAMUNDI

The tribe reputedly entered the area of the Dizai aghas where they now reside, in 1745 and from it the Dizai aghas are supposed to have come. The administrative and business work of the tribe is done by the Nafia agha i Hajji Rashid agha family of Erbil, which claims to be of Mamundi descent. Nafia agha's son, Ramzi, made a rather unorthodox re-entry into Iraq in the summer of 1943 via parachute accompanied by three Germans. The Family of Nafia agha is related to the Khoshnao and the Hussain agha section of the Dizai by marriage. Muhammed Ismail Melhim of Pamarabir is chief of the tribe, but as most of the tribal land is owned by non-resident Erbil landlords, the tribe can be said to be almost completely under the influence of non-tribal elements.

Village names No. of houses Map co-ords., 1:100,000 sheets

Arabahandi	50	ZF 570 047 (Map name Arabkandi) owned by a group of men resident in Erbil
Taraq	25	ZF 602 058 (Map name Toruk)
Keni Kirjala	20	ZF 533 081 owned by sons of Hajji Rashid agha, Erbil
Qareyetaq	50	ZF 550 050 (Map name Karayatak)
Bimbairis	40	ZF 521 036 (Map name Binbayris) owned by sons of Hajji Rashid agha, Erbil
Jimka	35	ZF 515 028 owned by sons of Hajji Rashid agha, Erbil
Delugul	25	HY 943 662 owned by Hassan Chelabi Dabbaghi, Erbil
Duzteppa	40	HY 991 654
Hazza	30	ZF 588 005
Sator	30	ZF 478 073 owned by sons of Hajji Rashid agha, Erbil
Khazna	50	HY 917 668
Dihemat	30	HY 917 646
Terjan	110	ZF 440 008 owned by sons of Hajji Rashid agha, Erbil
Sadawa	50	HY 877 654 " " " "
Qawagh	40	ZF 377 040 (Map name Kawook)
Abbasiyah	15	ZF 353 015
Suwairi	25	
Pamarabir Zaheba	50	ZF 377 010

XXXV
MANGUR

The Iraqi portion of the Mangur line north of Rania is the frontier area. The tribe is a member of the Bilbas confederation and is under the rule of Suwar agha i Hassan agha Bize Pasha of Shirwait village. It is divided into a number of sections which are listed with villages below. 150 families of the Iraqi portion of the tribe migrated to Persia in 1942 due to bad crops and have not returned

XXXVa
Mangur
MANGUR SECTION

Village names No. of houses Map co-ords., 1:100,000 sheets

Tobzawa	20		owned by Mufti Amin Attendi of Qala Bizeh
Kirsunan	15		owned by Mulla Ali, nephew of above
Khira jo	12		
Ballik	12		
Cowaisina	15	G 770 231	
Komala	5	G 702 187	
Gongasir			

XXXVb
Mangur
BARABULAN SECTION

Chief of section is Hassan Ashim Kalow

Village names No. of houses Map co-ords., 1:100,000 sheets

Kalawa	10	G 618 172	
Khandaika	8	G 596 124	
Barapan	3	G 615 138	
Shereait		G 637 180	Home of Sutar Agha, chief of tribe

XXXVc
Mangur
CHINARA SECTION

Chiefs of the section are Mulla Asla i Mulla Sharif and Asla i Hamad.

Village names No. of houses Map co-ords., 1:100,000 sheets

Sultanaday	9	
Dolubafra	4	G 606 130
Sidalan	7	
Spiro	10	G 687 186
Girdestir	4	
Aulkula	7	G 685 199
Kozina	12	G 675 201
Suragila	5	G 712 227

XXXVd
Mangur
KHIDR BASH MAYNA SECTION

Chiefs of the section are Faqi Hussain and Sam Hassan

Village names No. of houses Map co-ords., 1:100,000 sheets

Zung	10	G 575 199
Shaikhan	8	G 633 289
Dasht i Sun	12	G 628 281

XXXVe
Mangur
RAZAYI SECTION

Chiefs of the section are Hamad i Khidr Bash and Hamad Sur

XXXVe (cont'd)
Mangur
RAZAYI SECTION

Village names No. of houses Map co-ords., 1:100,000 sheets

Dopayfindi	4	
Razga	7	G 656 154
Shinawa	9	
Tutma	12	
Dochoma	5	G 660 163

XXXVI
Mangur
ZUDI SECTION

Chiefs of section are Qadir and Hamad i Qadir

Village names No. of houses Map co-ords., 1:100,00 sheets

Dergella	12	G 648 216
Zudan	25	G 634 215
Kanjara	15	G 584 106
Maladawa	7	G 727 261

XXXVI
MIRAN BEG

Nothing is known of the tribe. The following towns are questionably located on the Greater Zab west of the Zerari country

Village names No. of houses Map co-ords., 1:100,000 sheets

Girdmanik	30	F 494 354	home of Ali Beg i Anurshid beg, chief
Lahlare	12	F 486 346	

XXXVII
NARWA-RAIKAN

Reside in mountainous area on north boundary of Iraq in eastern drainage lines of Greater Zab. People are impoverished farmers of rice. They run a few cattle and raise a small amount of fruit. They are ruled by Aukli agha, Mhd. Amin agha, Sadiq Siro, Kehor agha and Rashid agha who own most of cultivated land.

Village name Population Map co-ords.

Tyrouk Aliya	160	
Zizka	100	
Tyrouk Gieri	130	
Kani Sarky	60	ZA 36 18
Biztoal	110	
Kara	300	ZA 34 18
Shesfy	100	ZA 42 14
Beerzan	90	
Aalah	80	
Yashia	150	
Krou	130	
Eivote	300	
Sarny	160	ZA 42 18
Aspeer	90	
Baitfa	100	(Betkar) ZA 32 12
Beebow	140	(Baibu) ZA 47 16
Ziowa	190	
Hora	180	ZA 55 16
Sheefa Zerka	160	
Heeley	120	
Hoara	180	
Zioka	80	

XXXVII (cont'd)
NARWA-RAIKAN

Village name	Population	Map co-ords.
Herkaoh	40	
Ban Arah	90	
Nabistan	140	
Yezli	170	
Reeshma	150	(Reeshma) ZA 50 17
Yezo Dronara	220	
Karouk	90	
Seena	110	
Zeer	80	
Hoosen	90	
Sabhaz	80	
Beedah	180	(Beheda) ZA 63 22
Shamki	80	ZA 60 19
Kasrky	170	
Harkansh	140	(Herkash) ZA 48 24
Beera Fidal	150	
Heesh	190	ZA 58 22
See	140	

XXXVIII
NOMADS

See under

Herki
Hajjan
Boli
Buboli
Balikian
Khailani
Surchi
Mamsal
Shaikh Mamundi
Haruti
Piran

XXXIX
NON- TRIBAL REGION

Generally speaking, the region northeast of the Dizai aghas, southwest of the Gurdi and stretching from Cuwair to Koi Sanjak is inhabited by small groups of a great many Kurd tribes with no real tribal setup. Exceptions are the Mamundi, Shaikh Bizaini, Surchi Mentik and Lek groups, but even among these, non- resident and non- tribal landowners are more powerful than the hereditary aghas. The landowning Erbili families to whom most of this region belongs are shown below, villages being listed except where already shown under the tribal lists.

Village names No. of people Map co-ords., 1:100,000 sheets

Owned by Ali Ben Dogramaji

Koniyan	40	ZF 600 010	Mixed Gurdi and others
Hektawa	60	HY 900 630	" " "
Hasarok	100	ZF 718 080	" " "
Kaznazan	30	ZF 791 099	" " "
Kanigeni	20	ZF 823 087	" " "

Owned by Mohammed Agha Dogramaji

Palingu	10	HZ 063 544	Mixed Gurdi and others
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Owned by Shaikh Mustafa i Shaikh Abu Bekr

Bulak	200		Hinari arab
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XXXIX (cont'd)
NON-TRIBAL REGION

Village names No. of people Map co-ords., 1:100,000 sheets

Owned by sons of late Hajji Rashid agha, Nur ud din agha, Attaullah agha, Hafiz agha, Musa agha.

Large Benisalawa	500	ZF 770 044	Nanakeli, Bilbas, Ormiziyar Kurds
Small Benisalawa	50		Nanakeli Kurds
Yaramja	150		Shaikh Mamundi Kurds
Showik	150		Hinari
Dayhemar	150		Mamundi Kurd
Shamamar	500		Mamundi and Saiyid Kurds and Jowala Arab

Daoud agha and Achmet agha property

Korabin	70	ZF 449 121	Balik and Furchi Kurd
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Owned by Shaikh Muhammed, Asad and relatives

Sherwa	250		Gurdgalli and Talabani Kurd
Gardeesh	300	HZ 120 647	" " " "
Hamza Beg	200	ZF 900 010	"
Hazarpenjareen	50		Ghawara Kurd
Rakzermeeen	50		"

Owned by Ahmed Othman

Kardiz	300	HZ 200 538	Zerari and Khoshnao
Small Kardiz	150		Naodasht
Bastani Kichka	70	HZ 256 560	Mixed Kurds
Yaramja	200		" "
Reshuan	150		Gurdi

Owned by Yunis i Said agha

Kaladka	40		Mixed Kurds
Sebiran	350		Mixed Kurds

Owned by Shaikh Muhammed i Hajji Abo agha, Hajji Mawkur ana Ahmed Khidr

Gazna	600		Gurdi
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Owned by Zurar agha

Daraband	800		Gurdi and other Kurds
Sherawa	250		" " " " "
Timar	500	HZ 080 662	" " " " "
Kope Keren	800	HZ 080 638	" " " " "

Owned by Merdan i Said Muhammed agha

Kocha Bilbas	700	HZ 090 597	Mixed Kurd
Reshkin	40	ZF 607 103	" "
Aliawa	50	ZF 932 550	Kurd Saiyids

Owned by Ez ed din mullah

Kapankrach	200	HY 742 408	Ahailani and others
Shemalas	180	HY 728 433	" " Map name Shaikh Halas
Mulla Qara	300	HY 779 480	Salihi and others
Majid Yunis	250	HY 813 472	" " "
Hassan Beg	180	HY 795 443	Gurdi and mixed Kurds
Minara	100	HY 795 504	Mixed Kurds

XXXIX (cont'd)
NON-TRIBAL REGION

Village names No. of people Map co-ords., 1:100,000 sheets

Owned by Ez ed din mullah

Jadida	300	HY 970 512	Lek and others
Tandura	300	HY 954 623	Mixed Kurds
Badabad	450	ZF 692 055	Khoshnao and others
Deratu	200	ZF 700 015	Ali Kurtki and others
Baghamurra	180	HZ 159 639	Khoshnao and others
Bestana	150		Gurdi and others
Komakro	150		Goran and others
Alanjugh	200		" " "
Barakan	100		Sadaat arab
Chalok gowra	150	ZF 430 140	Shaikh Mumundi and others
Chalok Kitchka	100	ZF 393 148	" " " " " A portion of
			the people of this village are migratory
Kellek	60	ZF 365 191	Gurdi

The owner of the above villages, Ez ed din mullah, being recently hard up for cash due to some rather expensive tastes in Syrian girls has mortgaged some of the above to Fatash agha of the Herki.

Owned by Shaikh Mohiyudin i Shaikh Saleh

Zerazawi	250		Zerari
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Owned by Qadir i Haj Ahmed Agha

Sebrani kichka	80		Mixed Kurds
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Owned by Khalil Saqib agha

Kaban choghan	300	ZF 561 187	Karash arab
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Owned by Shehab Chelabi Dabbagh

Bagha minara	100	ZF 608 040	Siyan, Khoshnao and Guliyan
Sordka	60		Manakelli, Bindian and others
Doldaghan	200	HZ 008 625	Siyan, Khoshnao, Zerari and others

Owned by Hashim Chelabi Dabbagh

Kara chinagha	100	HZ 133 626	Siyan, Pirababi and others
Chema Dibbis		ZF 320 129	Salih

XL
PIRAN

A powerful and formerly warlike tribe living between Rania and Koi Sanjak. It is a member of the Bilbas confederation and certain of the sections migrate to Persia with their flocks in the summer time. Suwar agha i Muhammed agha is chief of the following as well as paramount chief of the tribe. He has had a turbulent past history in the Rania area.

Village names No. of houses Map co-ords., 1:100,000 sheets

Sarkhoma	30	G 340 050	Home of paramount chief Suwar agha
Kasroq	30	G 300 035	"
Sardo Kamesha	10	G 400 047	(Map name Ser Qamishan)
Kamtarran	10	G 324 033	(Map name Qumtaran)
Kariya	20	G 426 070	(Map name Qorijah)
Girdjan	20	G 370 092	
Gird i Tell	25	G 338 147	

XL (cont'd)
PIRAN

Village names No. of houses Map co-ords., 1:100,000 sheets

Puka	10	G 333 124	
Zingzinga	10	G 340 104	
Kora Baroza	5	G 335 120	
Kaja	30	G 314 082	(Map name Gajah)
Kani Maran	15	G 330 089	
Bistama	10	G 276 017	(Map name Sustanah)
Izapi gowra	30	G 263 055	
Izapi kichka	10	G 249 055	
Dagurdkan	7	G 418 037	
Kani Tuan		Z 705 668	
Gelli Gulan		G 283 052	
Char Qurria		G 398 087	
Kolin		G 436 100	

XLa
Piran

RAMAKI FAQI WYSI SECTION

Kaka Amin is chief of the section

Waranga	10	G 447 056	Home of Kaka Amin
Gulaq	20	G 455 080	
Tobakaran	20	G 447 068	

XLb
Piran

RAMAKI MIR KHIDR SECTION

Ababekr agha i Brahim agha of Kurago is chief of the section

Kurago	20	G 506 111	
Hanjira	4	G 487 105	
Topawa	6		
Derbend i Rania	10	G 541 104	
Saida Faqirah		G 471 145	
Boskin		G 480 125	

XLc
Piran

SINN SECTION

Said Ahmed i Ahmed agha of Bazmusiyan is chief of the section. The villages, however, have been purchased by Bapir agha i Babekr agha of the Pizhder, who apparently has the rule of the villagers as well in spite of the fact that they are Pirani.

Bazmusiyan	20	G 487 043	
Palawan	6		
Dokortkan	6		
Kamin	6	Z 933 658	
Barabist	4		
Gird mamind	6		
Shinah		G 494 005	
Qurah		G 498 008	

XLI
REZHUKURRI

Tribe of Agra qadr west of greater Zab. Population about 2,000. Sedentary farmers cultivating rice as chief crop. Chief of tribe is Qadir agha of Zangana village.

ALI (cont'd)
REZHIKURRI

Village name	Population	Agha	Land Owner	Map co-ords.
Berdarash gowra	300	Ismail Marour	Haji Hassan Chelabi	
Berdarash Kichka	420	Saleb Abd.	Nadhim el Fakhri	ZF 29 04 34
Amboten	100	Ismail agha	"	
Khailschi	350	Ismail agha	Ali Eff. Haji Yunis Agha	ZF 30 84 30
Zittertok	100	Haji Mustafa	Sh. Ibrahim	
Ishanapak	200	Ramadan	Qadir agha	
Zankanan	750	Hamadsor agha	Sabounchi	
		Amin agha		
Dokandan gowra	100	Hamad Sor agha	Amin agha	ZF 38 44 12
Dokandan Kichka	260	Mustafa	"	ZF 39 34 11
Darato	506	Yasimagha Ajaaj	Yasimagha	ZF 41 24 02
Kosaziro	410	Ismail i Ali agha	Ismail Agha and Molawi partners	
		Amin Ismail agha	Rasho Salch agha	ZF 44 83 43
Biyok	100			
Kredo	370			
Dialeri	120	Abdul Rahman		
Shewaraz	160	Mahmud Ibrahim	Unis Abbawi of Mosul	
Dostak	150	Sh. Ahmed	Syed Ahmed, Abdul Rahman and Atto	ZF 37 75 18
Chima	200	"	Haji Abdul Jabbar	ZF 52 04 40
Bahazawa	100	Darwish Yunis	Haji Amin agha	
Khinarck	100	Husein Abo	"	ZF 50 63 79
Girgiran	120	Rekhan	Haji Qadir agha and Mustafa Haji Yunis	
Derbisan Kichka	100	Mhd. Amin Chelabi	Haji Hamad	

XLII
ROZH BARAN

One of the older Kurd residents of Dizai Agha area.

Kilhort	Haji Qarani	HY 68 75 06
Tel el Kem		HY 69 75 12

XLIII
SARALU

Shia Muslim Kurds who entered the Dizai agha area from the Kirkuk region. Abdali of Sifaya village is chief of the tribe

Village names	No. of houses	Map co-ords., 1:100,000 sheets
Sifaya	150	ZF 290 096
Natrat	50	ZF 236 035
Ranjrok	18	ZF 353 165

owned by Ez ed din mulla of Erbil

XLIV
SARMANI

Residents of the Dizai agha area, said to have originally come from the Batas Surchi tribe. Hajji Karim i Hajji Ibrahim of Maajla is the chief

Boshar	50
Kaylashin	10
Maajla	20

XLV
SHAIKHANI

XLVI
SHAikh BIZAINI

Originated in Chemchemal. Main body of tribe resident south of Lesser Zab in Taq Taq area. Smaller units in Dizai area south of Greater Zab near Guwair under Mushir i Qadr agha of Gainj. 200 people without tribal head live near Agra. Villages of the Duzai agha area follows

Village names	No. of houses	Map co-ords., 1:100,000 sheets	
Gainj	40	ZF 490 235	
Kelatka	10	ZF 542 150	(Map name Qalatka)
Kowirgosick	30	ZF 446 262	
Aghola	20	ZF 467 231	(Map name Aghulan)
Shivarash	30	ZF 472 280	owned by Ez ed din mullah, Erbil
Kharaba darao	30	ZF 541 210	
Topzawa	30	ZF 445 216	owned by Daoud and Ahmed aghas, Erbil
Jedida Zab	30	ZF 465 189	" " " " " " " "
Girda rasha Zab	30	ZF 396 214	owned by Shaikh Mustafa i Shaikh Abu Bekr, Erbil

The following villages are also indicated to lie within the tribal limits but have not been checked

Fraz		ZF 505 328	
Kamalok	10	ZF 485 262	owned by Ez ed din mullah, Erbil
Girda sher	80	ZF 518 199	owned by Qadir i Hajji Ahmed agha of Erbil
Sebrar		ZF 549 167	

XLVII
SHAikh MAMUNDI

The Shaikh Mamundi occupy one village called Shaikh Mamundi, the location of which is not certainly known, but is in the north of the Dizai agha area close to the village of Chalooq, ZF 430 140 which is the home of Hamza agha, the chief. Ten of the Shaikh Mamundi families follow a nomadic existence, wintering near Erbil and accompanying the Khailani to Persia in the summer.

XLVIII
SHARKAN

Seventy people without tribal head resident in Agra region. Probably part of a larger unit of which writer knows nothing.

XLIX
SHIRWAN

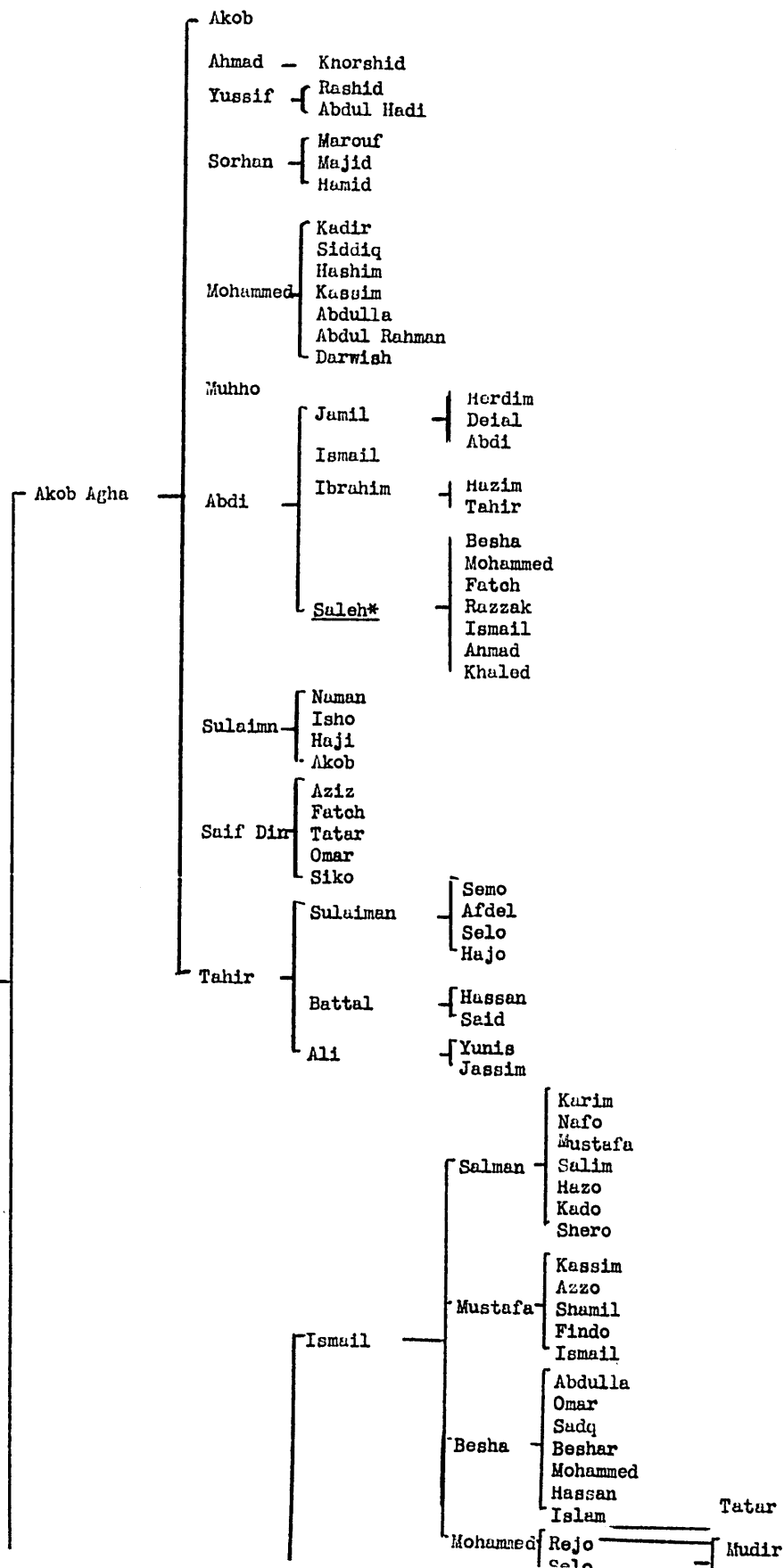
One of the "Med" Tribes under sway of Shaikh Ahmad of Barzan. Resident in extreme north of Iraq east of Bille. Small number are resident in Dizai agha area where they are followers of the Bize agha section of Dizai. Chief of the tribe is Tahir Kokha Karim of Darakhuma village.

Village names	No. of houses	Map co-ords., 1:100,000 sheets
Darakhuma	35	HY 871 250
Hassan Bilbas	20	HY 850 264
Hajji Shaikh	15	HY 850 282
Chigalelk	10	HY 845 324

L
SINDI
(See also under Slivani)

Occupies region of Turkish frontier in the Zakho qadr. The tribe is split into a number of sections, and, like the Guli, its eastern neighbours, is under the influence, both political and financial of Hazim beg of Zakho. The tribal chief of the Sindi is the head of the Galipas agha section, Sala agha abdi agha of Karsis and the second in command is Tabor Hajji Muhammed of Gowrick.

FAMILY OF GALIPAS AGHA
SECTION OF SINDI TRIBE



Abdoh Muste of Karpit Chumkai is

10 Karpit Chumkai
6 Solindaruk
5 Lemkedala
50 Pirako
10 Khara Khobka
10 Tuka
10 Barkeyri
12 Barzulake
50 Narkandala
50 Nergasora
10 Zeuke
100 Laru
15 Khoke sindi
15 Ofenai

Splindaruk as second.

Taylor Ismail of Barzulake is

20 Bantik
20 Bandru
20 Avlay
20 Pti Biliash
20 Derkor Ajan

as second in command.

Nahamet Haud of Bantik is chief

80 Marais
30 Galuk
40 Patrumah
8 Karkanoq
15 Gortick
10 Gundug
20 Barzintira
6 Benukre
30 Alonsh
30 Dren
40 Dora Shisha
80 Sunot
6 Dashedak
10 Balmune sindi

Village names No. of houses

Sala agha abd of Marais is
tribe. Second in command is Tabo
descent of the Galuk agha ruler

Oman - Bashar

Tilen

Tatar

Abi

Ali

Ismail
Khan Afdal
Abdi
Temo
Ahmad
Khan Afdal
Ishad
Uzzo

Jendo

Haji

Yussif
Nathir
Salman
Siddiq
Mohammed
Haji Mamad

Wali
Hado
Titan
Selo
Tajir
Kamil

Ali Khan
Ramadan
Mohammed
Chelab
Ramadan
Ismail

Chief of Marais village, Chief

X

Lc
Sindi
GALIPAS AGHA SECTION
Map ref. Sindi 1

Sala agha abdi agha of Marsis is chief of the section and of the whole Sindi tribe. Second in command is Taber Hajji Muhammad of Gorrick. The family descent of the Galipas agha ruling family is shown in Appendix III.

Village names No. of houses

Marsis	80	
Galuk	30	
Patrumah	40	
Karkanoq	8	
Gorrick	15	
Gundug	10	
Bazingira	20	
Benukre	6	
Alonish	30	Christian- Hamet Kaveru is chief
Erah	30	" " " " " "
Dora Shisha	40	" "
Manot	80	Christian- Kitu Zero and Mitel Abdulahad, chiefs
Dashtatak	6	" " " " " " " "
Bahnuna sindi	10	Christian- owned by Shimun effendi of Mosul. under charge of Mitel Abdulahad.

Lb
Sindi
HAMDE KHALIFAT SECTION
Map ref., Sindi 2

Nahamet Hamid of Banick is chief with his cousin, Salah Sadug of Derka Ajam, as second in command.

Banik	20
Bandru	20
Avlay	20
Pir Billah	10
Derkor Ajam	20

Lc
Sindi
CHIF ERMINI SECTION
Map ref., Sindi 3

Taiyor Ismail of Bargulatke is chief of the section with Hajji Bedriyah of Spindaruk as second.

Ofgani	15	
Khoke sindi	15	
Levu	100	Christian
Zeuke	10	
Mergasora	50	Christian
Navkandala	50	
Bargulatke	12	
Barkevri	10	
Tueka	10	
Khara Khobka	10	
Pirako	50	Christian
Jamkedala	5	
Spindaruk	6	
Karpit Chif Ermini	10	

Ld
Sindi
CHUNIKI SECTION
Map ref., Sindi 4

Abosh Muste of Karpit Chuniki is the chief of the section.

Ld (cont'd)
Sindi
CHUNIKI SECTION
Map ref., Sindi 4

Village names No. of houses

Karpit Chuniki	30	
Bergabar	5	
Berkunt	5	
Sindava	25	
Persik	12	
Vamisa	15	
Serrulovke	10	
Bersivvy	100)	belong to the Sindi- Chuniki section but are independent of tribal affairs. Bersivvy is christian with Misho Zero as chief.
Bothel	80)	

Ld
Sindi
MAM EZDINAH SECTION
Map ref., 5

Chief of the section is Hassan Jongir of Terik Hassan.

Terik Hassan	15	
Terik Hajji	15	
Terik Sumu	10	
Kabaruk	20	
Khelofli	15	
Berkevi	15	
Talki	20	
Beshilke	15	headquarters of the Safi family of which Sadiq Abe is chief.
Sergu	8	
Amed agha	10	
Bahrova	10	
Hizawah	15	Christian
Kharabok	10	
Dorhuzon	40	owned by the Galipas agha family mixed population of Muslim and Christian Kurds
Gerik Sindi	8	
Chemsirnu	20	

Le
Sindi
NIRI SECTION
Map ref., Sindi 6

Saadi ibn Memu of Gundaq is chief of the section

Gundaq	20	
Derjalal	30	
Dahaluk Niri	15	
Derkor Niri	20	Salah Shulbi, chief
Mergay	15	
Stavlioni	12	

Lf
Sindi
BANISTAWNI SECTION
Map ref., Sindi 7

Hassain i Chazi agha of Bergur is the chief of the section

Bergur	60	
Hafshin	10	
Horiz	20	Raider Naza, co-chief of the section
Dahalik Sindi	10	
Dasht mah sack	20	
Yantufa	20	
Kerni	30	owned by Hazim Beg

Lf (cont'd)

SINDI
BANISTAWNI SECTION
Map ref., Sindi 7

Village names No. of houses

Kuzof 10 owned by Hazim Beg
Rabankaw 20 " " " "

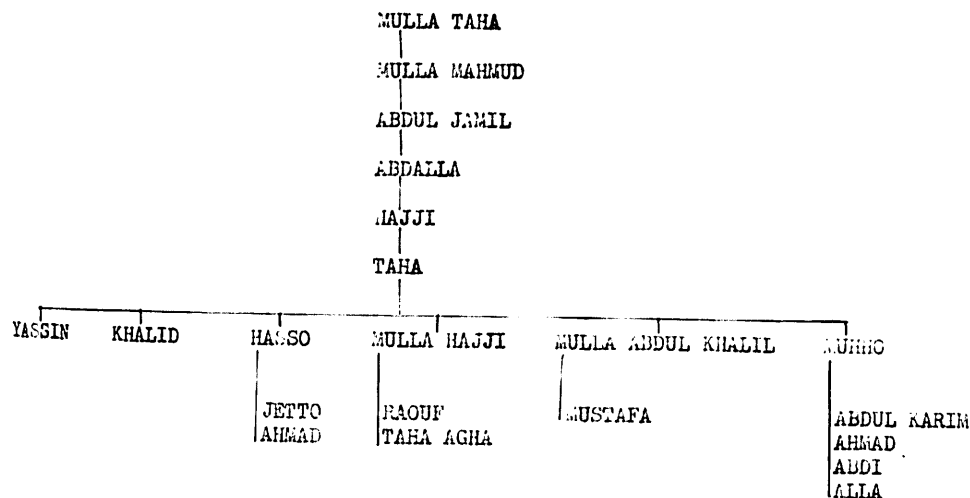
Lg
Sindi
SHAIKH EZZINA SECTION
Map ref., Sindi 8

Nurdina village 80 houses Muhammed Hassan owner and chief of the section

Lh
Sindi
MULLA TAHA SECTION
Map ref., Sindi 8

Sharanish village 8 houses Raouf Mulla Jawmi, owner and chief of the section
Bihair village 10 houses

MULLA TAHA RELIGIOUS FAMILY OF SINDI TRIBE



Lj
Sindi
MICHULIN SECTION
Map ref., Sindi 8

Qasruq village 20 houses, Rahamet Ubi head of one part of the section
Avert village, 25 houses, Yusuf Musa, head of the second part of the section
Bakis village, 40 houses

Lj
Sindi
ALI TATAR AGHA SECTION
Map ref., Sindi 8

The section composed of Pera village with 20 houses, under Ali Tatar agha is generally referred to as one of the oldest and most respected of the Sindi.

X

LA
Sindi
VILLAGES WITHOUT TRIBAL TIE

Dornakh of 50 houses, owned by Hazim Beg
 Mahendi of 20 houses, christian, owned by Hazim Beg
 Rakawa of 50 houses, owned by Hazim Beg
 Tel Kebr of 23 houses owned by Hazim Beg
 Abosiah of 15 houses owned by Hazim Beg
 Shiranish nasara of 40 houses, christian

LI
SIYAN

Small tribe thought to be one of the original Kurdsih inhabitants of the Dizai agha area at time of Dizai appearance. They are not too friendly with the ruling aghas. Chief of the tribe is Hadi agha of Serbashakh of the Usmanel section of the tribe. Under him are Hassan agha of Shinagha of the Wuttuck section and Kokha Abdulla of Kirabat of the Shemsin section.

Village names No. of houses Map co-ords., 1:100,000 sheets

Serbashakh	40	HZ 087 279	Usmanel section
Gabelaka	20	HZ 087 195	" "
Grao	40	HZ 007 067	owned by Shaikh Muhadin of Erbil
Gazwashan	40	HZ 022 110	Shemsin section
Gesuma	25	HZ 040 124	Usmanel section
Chard	20	HZ 060 135	" "
Derke kienka	15	HZ 069 168	" "
Kharaba	50	HZ 060 213	" "
Quch	20	HZ 010 254	owned by Talib agha i Hussain agha of the Kakahan Dizai. Shemsin section of Siyan
Derberd	50	HZ 057 309	" "
Jastan	40	HZ 033 324	Hamza agha " "
Birabat	20	HZ 005 362	Kokha Abdulla " "
Abdulla Fati	10	HZ 122 287	Usmanel section
Pelkana		HZ 105 241	Jamil agha of the Bize Dizai, q.v.
Serlu	10	HZ 132 216	Usmanel section
Pulkani		HZ 184 225	Sada Naim arab
Muhawali		HZ 170 197	Ismail agha of Hussain agha Dizai, q.v.
Shinagha	40	HZ 121 178	Wuttuq section
Durkye Arian		HZ 100 148	Beni Tamin arab allied to Siyan
Dola Sizzo	70	HZ 130 425	
Girdasor	150	HZ 236 416	
Tel al matur	10	HY 794 025	
Dingawa	10	HY 782 038	
Kurdal Yur	5	HY 778 100	
Kurdah Chal	10	HY 755 103	
Qira Sabilkah	10	HY 763 120	
Dosiri Bala	15		Usmanel section
Dranzda lawar	20		

LII
SLIVANI, SINDI AND GULI TRIBES

The Slivani, Sindi and Guli tribes are considered more or less as a unit, because they inhabit contiguous areas in the Zakho qadr and because all three are under the domination of Hazim Shemdin agha or Hazim Beg of Zakho. Hazim Beg is titular head of the Slivani tribe but is no longer a tribesman in any sense of the word and his position rests on a basis of political influence and money rather than tribal backing. He freely admits that his backing in any of the tribes actually ruled by him is practically nil. Compared with the Dizai, Herki, Khoshnaw and others, the tribes under consideration, may almost be called non-tribal, in the sense that, although a blood tie may exist among villagers, the aghas are mostly non-residents, many of whom never have been tribesman nor have they come of tribal stock. In this connection, the number of non-resident landowners and villages without definite tribal ties is noticeable. The condition of the tribesman in the area appears to be one in which all benefits of tribal organization have been lost with no compensating gain of material benefit to individual initiative and labour. The change from tribal conditions to a more

SLIVANI, SINDI AND GULI TRIBES

permit the undesirable entry of non-tribal and non-resident landowners. The people of the three tribes are said to have entered the area gradually from what is now Turkey and a large influx of Christians took place during and subsequent to the last war. Muslim-Christian relations seem to be good, probably due to the influence of the Shemdin agha family, which justly considers them good, hardworking tenants and protects them accordingly. A certain amount of the traditional tribal activity of raiding over the frontier still takes place, but the raiding parties are in these days more liable to be composed of smugglers and bold bad men from the outside, than members of a tribal group under their hereditary agha. The raiding and smuggling is more due to ineffective policing of the area than evidence of tribal spirit, and in some cases is the result of the activity of bands paid by the wealthier residents of Zakho. The district is an agricultural one raising grain, wheat, vegetables, sheep and cattle. In Zakho, a certain amount of weaving of cloth is done by the Christian element and shoes and other leather goods are made locally. There is an abundant supply of water and with it malaria is very prevalent. The population of the area is estimated as follows:

	Muslim	Christian	Jews	Yezidis
Zakho	6000	3500	750	
Guli Saidahr	450			
Guli	2760	270		
Sindi Man Ezdinah	1340	140		
Niri	680			
Benistawni	1200			
Shaikh Ezdina	500			
Shif Ermini	1010	1200		
Chuniki	680	1080		
Mulla Taha	210			
Hamde Khalifat	470			
Ali Tatar	120			
Michulin	390			
Galipas agha	1410	1140		
Miscellaneous	600	550		
Slivani Sina	3120	600		
Lafie	1690			
Dudwadtha	3310	1680		
Zeborlah	2180	240		350
	28120	10400	750	350

SLIVANI

The tribe is divided on a family basis into the Sina and Dudwadtha sections, with further subdivisions of Lafie of the Sina and Zeborlah of the Dudwadtha on geographical grounds. The head of the tribe is the present head of the Dudwadtha section, Hazim Shemdin agha. The head of the Sina section is the head of the Abdi Qasala family, Najim agha of Kuwarshi. The descent of the Shemdin agha family is given in appendix I. None of the family claim any noble ancestors but proudly state that they originally sprang of humble Koli village stock, the founder of the present family fortune and social position being said to have been the first Shemdin agha, who removed from Koli to Zakho and who, "because the people loved him" acquired considerable tribal influence and money. Shemdin agha, judging from the family wealth and position, has been followed by exceedingly able business men of considerable political sagacity, even if some of them may be suspected of a certain lack of integrity and run of the mine honesty. The family's advance has been made not so much through tribal affiliations as by business dealings and Hazim Shemdin agha lays no claim to power that could enable him to rally the tribe as a unit in case of necessity other than as mercenary troops. The position of the family of Shemdin agha is best stated in the words of a local resident of Zakho- "Shemdin agha's family is the biggest family in Zakho state. The speaking of all Zakho and around it belong to them and, if what they say, there is no anybody to say anymore".

LIIa
Slivani
DUDWADTHA SECTION
Map ref., Slivani 1

Hazim Shemdin agha of Zakho is chief of the section.

Village names	No. of houses	Religion and landowners
Derabun	20	owned by Haji agha of Zakho and Sabri Effendi, Muslim, and Darwish Husey and Shalish Kheir, Yazidi. Villagers one-half Yazidi and one-half Slivani Kurd
Pesh Anabur	200	Christian- at least one-half its villagers owned and the remainder by Aziz Yacoub agha of Pesh Kabur and his brothers Karim and Nisan
Barjidda	15	Christian- owned by Aziz agha of Pesh Anabur
Barjidda Kandala	10	government land rented by Yazidis
Mushora	25	owned by Aziz agha
Tusana	20	" " "
Sorija	20	" " "
Kani Arab		a grazing ground with some small shelters for shepherds
Kawerick	15	owned by Ali Mishru agha of Girkel
Behizni	15	" " " " " "
Girkel	20	" " " " " "
Paravuk	8	" " " " " "
Kerpator	20	owned by the parents and heirs of Fariq agha. The deceased's cousin Rashid is resident and village chief
Kerveni	7	government land rented by Yazidis
Barov	30	owned by Hazim Beg of Zakho
Kherbanur	5	owned by Yusuf Ali agha
Kolic	10	owned by Mustay Hajji Isah agha
Hajji Ali	5	" " " " " "
Koli	60	owned by Said agha, cousin of Hazim Beg
Andiyah	35	Rashid agha, uncle of Hazim Beg
Kani Kerek	15	Said agha of Koli
Sholk	15	Mamir ibn Chelabi, uncle of Hazim Beg
Kashkan	7	Rashid agha of Andiyah
Baeluja on the Tigris	10	Ismail Abaul Denny of Mosul
Chemzirov	10	Ramazan agha of Gerlesman, uncle of Hazim Beg
Shefkanish	20	Said agha of Koli
Sergerri	10	Sulaiman Muhammad agha
Pochaq	25	Ahmed Rashid
Auzbelle	30	Sala mahoulat of the Ahmed Rashid family
Aufkani	20	Hajji Halima of Zakho
Ismail Ayal	30	Armenian village owned by Hajji Halima of Zakho
Bourdi	30	Ahmed Jindi agha
Gurzhin	40	Abdul Rahman agha i Mosoud agha
Tel Azba	15	Sulaiman Abdul Wahab

LIIb
Slivani
DINA SECTION
Map ref., Slivani 2

Head of the section is Najem agha i Abdi Qasala of Kuwarshi

Kuwarshi	40	Najem agha
Hajji	70	Rashid Farhan agha
Assi	70	" " "
Kurkur	15	Hajji agha of Zakho
Balkhor	20	Hajji Ramazan
Bavish	25	owned by villagers
Gorash	35	Najem agha of Kuwarshi
Batharsha	20	" " " "
Mal Husein	15	" " " "
Seragardi	25	Salmon Muhammad effendi of the Abdi Qasala family

X

LIIb (cont'd)
Slivani
SINA SECTION
Map ref., Slivani 2

Village names	No. of houses	Aghas and landowners
Muzubli	20	government land
Suelovi	10	" "
Shagrova	15	" "
Ofsueriq	15	" "
Horesk	110	Armenian- government land rented by Devron pasha, originally from Lake Van region. Village now practically deserted
Barir	15	government land rented by Tabir Abdi Qasala
Basitzi	20	Armenian- government land
Basitki	14	" " " " " "
Kasr Malataib	40	Salmon Sahahmed effendi of Seragmani
Girarbur	20	Saami Abdi Qasala
Chapawani		government owned growing camp
Tirbespi	15	Muhammed Abosh, cousin of Najem agha
Ketuna	10	" " " " " " " " " "
Oftahal	25	Hazim Beg and Muhammed Huseo, chief of the Hajjun

LIIc
Slivani
ZEBORIAN SECTION
Map ref., Slivani 3

Hazim beg of Zakho is chief of the section

Aferza	11	Abdulla agha and Mochi Gabay of Zakho. Part Christian
Salka	25	Hajjia Halima of Zakho, stepmother of Hajji agha, cousin of Hazim beg
Kharab Dar	25	Haji agha of Zakho
Khelaq	20	Gurgic effendi of Zakho and Khardia of Bedar
Bedar	150	Hazim beg
Jankurk	18	" "
Bakerna	30	Shaikh Yahsin
Jowsak	5	government land rented by Shaikh Yahsin of Bakerna
Bachuga	25	Hajjia Halima of Zakho and Hajji Fatmah i Mitaah beg of Bachuga
Shinava	20	Hajji Ali, turk of Gerik Amu, Turkey
Hation,	25	Wali of Hation and his brother Hajji Ali of Gerik Amu
Tuyan	15	" " " " " " " " " "
Karawulla	35	government land rented by Aziz agha of Pesh Khabur
Mazerick		village deserted. Land rented from government by Aziz agha of Pesh Khabur

LIId
Slivani
LAFIE SECTION
Map ref., Slivani 4

Najem agha of Kawarshi is chief of the section

Hassan Ava	15	Hajji agha of Zakho
Chem i miselmati	6	Nashad beg of Mosul
Dasht i Mir	10	Hazim beg and Shaikh Mustafa of Dasht i Mir
Khutanish	12	rented from government by Yusuf Shemdin agha
Girzok	8	government land
Chambawani	10	" " "
Botoss	60	Ibrahim Hajji Yawail
Bezeh	40	owned by the villagers
Dulah	30	Muhammed Ali
Ernisht	50	owned by the villiagers
Dubonk	10	" " " " " "
Haruna	10	" " " " " "

LIII
SURCHI

The tribe occupies the plains and foothill area on both sides of the greater Zab in the vicinity of Harir and Aqra. The northern Aqra- Badinan section, Map ref. Surchi 8- is ruled by Shaikh Muhammad i. Malik Raqib and is almost completely separated from the Southern Surchi which is divided into seven sections under Khoshnaw influence. About 30 of the Badinan families migrate as a part of the Herki tribe, and 60 of the Badinan families, known as the Mansal, migrate on their own. The remainder of the tribe are sedentary farmers, the northern grain growers, the Qunn pest has caused them tremendous losses in the past few years. Surchi divisions are as follows;

Aqra area

Badinan section, Shaikh Muhammad, chief
Mansal nomads, Mansal i. Khatib, chief
Badinan nomads, Shaikh Muhammad, chief

Harir area, people of this area are under Khoshnaw influence

Kulu section, Aziz agha i. Kalij agha
Mal as Shaikh, Ahmed agha i. Qadr agha
Mal abbas nazar, Makkid agha i. Medagha agha
Mamosan, Salim agha i. Taj ud din agha
Mal abbas, Makkid agha
Bamini is a subsection of the Mal abbas under Makkid agha
Ussu Kashali, Shaikh Hassan
Biao, Hussain agha i. Haris agha

Descent of the Badinan aghas is as follows;

		Shaikh Ahmad		
		Shaikh Muhammad		
Obeidillah	Qayyum	Raqib	Badia	Shaqiq
Qadr	Anwar	Fakhri	Sh. Ahmed	Muslih
Tawfiq	Jarullah	Subir	Sh. Kutbadin	
Kazho	Kabir	Shaikh Muhammad	Murshid	
Taj ud din			Sadraddin	
Atto				

The Badinan section is one of the northern tribal groups in which the religious leader- Shaikh- combines religious and temporal rule. The northern Surchi were formerly closely allied to the Barzani, Shirwanis, and Kizuris under Shaikh Ahmad of Barzan and during the trouble of 1920 were considerable of a nuisance. Their warlike spirit seems to have abated since their disastrous defeat by the Assyrian refugees in 1920 and at present they are accounted a rather harmless community. The tribe is reputed to have originated in its present area, which argues either lack of tradition or a long residence.

LIII
Surchi
BADINAN SECTION
Map ref., Surchi 8

Town or Village	Population	Village Agha	Landowner	Map co-ords, 1:100,000 Sht
Zairaf	200	Sadraddin (Shaikh)	Shaikh Sadraddin	
Bahrava Paqialli	15	Muthaffir	Haji Sharraf Almasat	28145608
Kholi	210	Shaikh Atter	Sh. Atter	
Chamasair	20	Abu Khwaja	Amiria	
Mandiyan	100	Qadir Zubair	Villagers	
Kerisebit	30	Mabi	Amiria	
Sirokani	200	Sh. Moh'Raqib	Sh. Moh'Raqib	
Gailani	150	Sh. Sower, Sh. Taha	Amiria	
Surudiyan	200	Sh. Shafeeq	Sh. Moh'Raqib	
Debey	250	Sh. Ahmed	Sh. Ahmed	
Bahrava	47	Omar Shero	Amiria	

Lilia (Cont'd)
Burchi
BADINAN SECTION
Map ref., Burchi 2

Town or Village	Population	Village Agcha	Landowner	Map co-ords., 1:100,000 Snts.
Mergatoshok	100	Sultan Karaceti	Sh. Kettir	F 682633
Zirgayan	120	Mahmud Hassan Bey	Chilton, Ank.	
Galati	377	Sh. Chilton	Sh. Chilton	F 749875
Sostara	300	Sh. Powfeg	Sh. Powfeg	
Sinkavian	300	Sofi Mirza	Sh. Powfeg	
Amalon	100	Abdullah Mon'	Sh. Powfeg	F 801653
Soriya	15	Mahmud Ahmed	Amiria	
Patrot	20	Sh. Hassan	Sh. Chilton	
Zeewa	15	Saeed Ahmed	Sh. Powfeg	
Labi	20	Mahmud Saeed	Amiria	
Calon Mamuel	150	Taha Ali	Sh. Powfeg	
Penjee	20	Ibrahim Nurkosh	Amiria	
Sherfona	150	Mahmud Omar	Sh. Chilton	F 820998
Kasrok	20	Mahmud Ali	Sh. Chilton	F 823575
Dazeen	20	Salim Chilsa	Sh. Powfeg	
Stiroan	100	Omar Haji Ahmed	Sh. Kitto	
Kandagol	150	Mahmud Niamet	Amiria	
Mirbaliyan	100	Barkhand Ahmed	Amiria	
Mazandok	20	Faqi Omar Mirza	Sh. Ahmed	
Caliceene	50	Moh'd Sheen	Amiria	
Heeza	100	Sh. Maho	Sh. Maho	
Knoka	140	Sh. Omar Haider	Sh. Powfeg	
Kojar	20	Moh'd Amin Haji Hassan	Amiria	
Bajeel	350	Darwish Maho	Sh. Kitto	F 683680
Zenta	120	Ahmed Moh'd	Sh. Tagiuddin	ZF642683
Jonah	20	Kako Ali	Villagers	ZF620697
Bashkal Rost	100	Haji Ali	Amiria	ZF642699
Bashkalagha	100	Niamet Agcha	Villagers	ZF593704
Smaile	150	Ahmed Sidid	Amiria	ZF579651
Shenasran	150	Ahmed Mansal	Sh. Ibrahim	
Knsaleen	160	Hassan Suleiman	Sh. Ibrahim & Sadruddin	ZF611605
Dostan	20	Musein Mulla Abdi	Sh. Shofteeq	
Jarji	120	Mulla Hassan	Sh. Sadruddin	
Nahada	100	Yakosadr	Sh. Pasha	
Orcalan	100	Haji Ali	Sh. Pasha	ZF591622
Nerkaseen	150	Saleh Chalabi	Sh. Chilton	ZF607623
Perjawa	250	Nonan Marola	Sh. Nageef & Mulla Jabril	
Kishka	70	Mahmudhan Mulla Abid	Sh. Chilton & Mulla Jabril	
Burak	200	Metti Dime	Amiria	
Malka	120	Fakhri Sh. Moh'd	Sh. Moh'd Raqib	ZF422506
Baroos	80	Raqib		
Qaladair	100	Mahmud Shirmam	Amiria	
		Subair Abdul Rahman	Amiria	
Sirkifrok	130	Mahmud Babasuciah	Villagers	ZF616495
Joleiri	40	Yusif Ahamees	Amir	ZF634512
Chailisayran	100	Bassi	Amiria	
Ashbinal	200	Majeed Mansal	Amiria	ZF575558
Gomachi	80	Sh. Mustafa	Sh. Mustafa	
Goordachaila	20	Saloon Sh. Mustafa	Sh. Mustafa	
Khalana Mamsyed	120	Kareemkhan	Villagers	ZF609545
Kasrok Membal	60	Saeed Baz	Sh. Kutub	ZF635958
Birdager	200	Bandir	Sh. Mohd Raqib	

LIIIB
Surchi
BIAO SECTION
Map ref., Surchi 7

Russain agha i Haris agha of Minara village is chief of section

Village names	No. of houses	Map co-ords., 1:100,000 sheets
Khalan	10	F 951 681
Minara	20	F 982 666
Jafirakan	4	F 990 658
Kamanda	3	
Zawilian i Biao	2	F 965 694
Sawa	5	F 943 664
Dolatessu	5	F 930 670
Avroka		F 962 679
Qasroki		F 956 655
Qamariyah		G 005 651
Rasha Gul		G 009 642
Zorda Gul		G 020 638
Kandan		G 035 627

LIIIC
Surchi
KULU SECTION
Map ref., Surchi 1

Aziz agha i Kalij agha of Makedan is chief of section

Makedan	40	F 750 544
Kalachini qulu	10	
Kalachini bashir	5	F 760 458
Serkend	12	F 717 503
Zerjoz	10	F 701 507
Siraka	10	F 685 506
Gozka	20	F 668 539
Yekdir	10	F 710 547
Chinaka zyairi		F 655 521
Chinaka zyori		F 640 507
Pankan		F 782 439

LIIID
Surchi
MAL AS SHAIKH SECTION
Map ref., Surchi 2

The section under Ahmed agha i Qadr agha lives in Batas village, co-ords., F 975 513, of 180 houses of which at least 80 are Assyrian families.

LIIIE
Surchi
MAL ABBAS NAKAR SECTION
Map ref., Surchi 3

Makdid agha i Medagha agha of Leramir village is the chief although his rule has been disputed by Khidr Hamad Ashim since his release from jail by Rashid Ali during the Iraqi trouble of 1941.

Leramir	8	F 989 620
Kelakin surchia	20	G 002 579
Kanikolik	15	G 019 608
Jonala	20	F 969 640
Benaka	6	
Saynova	8	F 986 596
Goris	15	F 921 661
Kani Kutman	20	G 030 562
Derbendok Surchia	5	G 013 623
Dasht i Lak	5	
Sarashma		G 032 592
Parchen		G 018 577

LIIIf
Surchi
MAMOFAN SECTION
Map ref., Surchi 4

Salim agha i Taj ud din agha of Barazan village is chief of section

Village names	No. of houses	Map co-ords., 1:100,000 sheets	
Mendi	7	F 943 521	
Barazan	4	F 912 538	
Berda gora	6		
Feloon	1		
Guliq	10	F 958 569	
Afriyan	8		
Derbendok	30	F 953 546	a small number of Assyrians also reside here
Rikawa		F 905 502	

LIIIf
Surchi
MAL ABBAS SECTION
Map ref., Surchi 5

Makdid agha of Leramir village is chief of section

Berbiyan	10		
Herrash	40	F 830 543	
Khara	30		
Kurra beg	3	F 793 543	
Faquiyan	5	F 798 525	
Kandil	10	F 829 567	
Bardin	10	F 868 588	
Kuba	10	F 863 502	
Almandan	15	F 895 548	includes 5 Assyrian families
Marzan	20	F 930 485	
Nowkan	3		
Jamosoro	30		
Julamerq		G 046 538	Bamimi subsection

LIIIf
Surchi
MENTIK OR MURTIQ SECTION

A small group of the Batas Surchi living in the hilly region west of the Shalgha river near its confluence with the lesser Zab. Chief of the tribe is Asad i Ahmed agha of Shewapiran village. A portion of this tribe, the people of Kotchirat village, numbering about 250 persons, live in tents and migrate to Persia each summer. A number of the Mentik have left the area and have taken up residence under the Dizai aghas.

Sof Ibrahim	25	HZ 300 485	
Hassan Mutrub	15	HZ 340 525	
Doshewan	30	HZ 264 520	
Kani Berza	20	HZ 270 554	
Rollka or Lurki	20	HZ 291 507	
Shewa piran	40	HZ 382 557	
Balaban	50	HZ 424 520	
Berdibir	15	HZ 419 541	
Kotchirat or Kotan (?)			winter camping ground of the nomadic families

LIIIf
Surchi
USSU KASHELI SECTION

Shaikh Hassan of Amokan is chief of section

Amokan	100	F 913 577	
Kani chingan	10	F 895 587	

LIV
ZANGANA

Main body of tribe in Kifri region.
Three small villages on west slopes of Jebel Ain Safran, east of Mosul.
150 without tribal head in region of Aqra.

LV
ZERARI

Inhabit area north of Bastura Chai and east of the greater Zab. Chiefs are Alanddin agha i Ahmed beg and Yusuf agha i Asad agha.

Village names	No. of houses	Map co-ords., 1:100,000 sheets
Kapakiyan	15	F 670 338
Sersul	10	F 738 370
Kawani	10	F 723 382
Bawa khalan	30	F 720 397
Soolay	8	
Zergawzawi	20	F 710 428
Koodiriyan	20	F 692 456
Hababan	10	F 679 462
Toowa	10	F 661 486
Chira	15	F 635 469
Kalatajin	10	
Garawi Dallalan	10	
Mandawa	8	F 586 450
Kharwan	10	F 559 351
Mamkhalan	15	F 628 364
Reashwan Muhammed Sadiq	10	F 579 351
Reshwan Hamad beg	10	
Gardi Mawan	5	
Karakaji	8	
Ussu meliyan	25	F 578 580
Gopal	25	
Zerowawa	15	F 645 344
Kyelaupesla	5	
Ashkafla kittick		F 684 413
Girdu Lalar		F 623 439

LVI
ZIBARI

The Zibari north-west of Aqra for which definite boundaries are shown is a section - the Nayzar - a part of the Zibari living along the south-west bank of the greater Zab to the north. The Nayzar entered their present location about 60 years ago under Osman agha. Present population 1,200 people. The tribe raises rice chiefly. Family of ruling agha is as follows:

Mohd. Ali agha				
Sidig	Khurshid	Osman agha	Qasin	Mustafa
Haji Qadir agha				
Mohd. Salim agha, present chief				
Village name	Population	Agha	Landowner	Map co-ords.
Jalilkan	250	Othman	Ameria	
Kharbab	450	Dinha Yusuf	Haji Qadir Agha	
Raselain	300	Arif Haji Qadir	" "	ZF 53 17 35
Kharoz	100	Abdul Qadir Mohd	" "	
Kandak	500	Ahmed Mohd.	Amiria	ZF 48 77 58
Shosh	600	Hussein Jowhir	Kaurshid agha	ZF 45 27 68
Sharfi	300	Bokhana	Haji Qadir Agha	
Sailan	80	Qadir Arafat	Qassim agha	ZF 39 97 61
Bakirzan	1700	Mulla Taha	Haji Qadr Agha	ZF 37 47 91

LVI (Cont'd)
ZIBARI

Village name	Population	Agha	Landowner	Map co-ords.
Asmawa	100	Mulla Yasim	Sidiq	ZF 35 87 72
Bashaira	300	Ibrahim Paro	"	
Sostawa	600	Salim Khidr	Haji Qadir agha	
Razok	100	Ramazan Muktar	"	ZF 51 47 11
Khalil	100	Khan Afdal	Amiria	
Bahanora	50	Haji Hussein	"	
Ashkafta	20	Taha Sadak	"	
Samakok	40	Ahmed Tahir	Syed Abdulla	ZF 51 96 88
Jalikan	250	Othman	Amiria	

Shari Agah
 married

Shari Agah
 married

Shari Agah

Haji Salim

Shari Agah

Shari

Shari Agah

Shari

Shari Agah

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Shari Agah

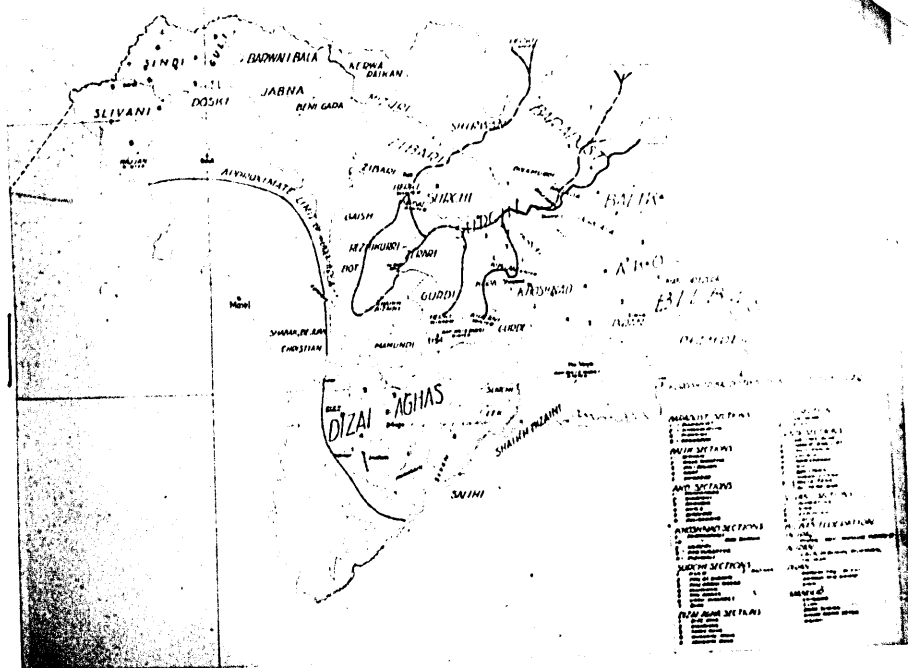
Shari Agah

SHARI AGAH FAMILY
 2000

Mulla Omar
|
Mulla Yanya
|
Mulla Mohammed
|
Mulle Yanya
|
Mulla Tuib

	Yussef Effendi-	Mohammed	--	Suleiman Jafer Knorsnid	--	Saeirdeh Ahmed Subhi
		--Hajib				Salem Saeed Munsen
TRIBE		Takur	--	Yusif Mohammed Ahmed Tansin Omar Abdi Taib		
		Abdulla	--	Mohammed Ali		
-Abdulla -		Habash	--	Ahmed Farhan Bashar Saadun		
	Abdi Gazala	Rashid	--	Towfik Mohammed Ahmed Abdulla		
		Hussein	--	Ahmed		
		Ali	--	Noori Ahmed Mohammed		
		Sami	--	Mustafa Abdul Karim Abdul Rahman Jamlur		
	Taib	Mustafa				
	Anmed Chalabi					
Mohammed -	Mustafa Hamid	Saleem				Omar Fadhil
	Abdul Aziz	Mulla Taib-- Mahmud		Mulla Mohammed		Naif Mahmud Hassan Hamid
				Ubaid	--	
		Ramadan	--	Ahmed Suleiman Mohammed		
Ali Effendi	Hassan Effendi-	Mohammed	--	Hamid Hussein		
		Haji Hassan	--	Saleh		
		Ali	--	Saeed Rashid		
	Mohammed	Hamid	--	Salah Fathi Hassan		
		Abdul Rahman		Ahmed Mohammed Yassin Ali		
	Assad	Ahmad Saeed Hussein Suleiman	-- -- --	Sabin Ali Husnim		
	Mohammed Yehya	Taib	--	Khalid	--	Saleh Badie Shaban Taib
	Mohammed Saleh-	Ismail Abdulrahman	-- --	Hussein Ahmed	--	Saeed Hussein

			Mussein --	Ali	
			Suleiman --	Hassan	
	Mohammed				
	Yehya	-	Taib --	Karlic --	Waleh
					Hadie
					Shaban
					Taib
	Mohammed Saleh		Ismail --	Mussein	
			Abdulrahman		
			Jalal --	Amad	Saeed
Sheikh Taha				Hamed	Mussein
				Mohammed	Hassan
					Farid
					Abdulla
	Abdul Kader	-	Rashid --	Haji	
				Naif	
				Faik	
				Ahmed	
				Mohammed	
				Salim	
			Ibrahim --	Mohammed	
				Kader	
				Abdul	
			Taha --	Hamno	Ismail
			Mohamed Ali --		Shaikho
					Taha
				Ismail	Fadhil
				Salam	Adel
					Zaki
					Abdulla
	Ismail Effendi		Saeed --	Maroof	
				Mohammed	
			Hamid --	Haji	
				Raouf	
			Majid --	Snukri	
				Noori	
				Anwar	
				Ramadan	
			Yussef --	Sabri	
				Aziz	
				Shafik	
				Mohammed	
				Ahmed	
				Nasrat	



6
Jan. 26, 1944

7:00 p.m.

CIRCULAR AIRGRAM TO BE SENT TO ALL AMERICAN MISSIONS

EXCEPT LONDON, LISBON, MADRID, STOCKHOLM, BERLIN AND ANKARA.

The President has instructed the Secretaries of State, Treasury and War to take action for the immediate rescue and relief of the Jews of Europe and other victims of enemy persecution. In an executive order issued January 22, the President declared (NOTE it is the policy of this Government to take all measures within its power to rescue the victims of enemy oppression who are in imminent danger of death and otherwise to afford such victims all possible relief and assistance consistent with the successful prosecution of the war (NOTE). The order establishes special governmental machinery for executing this policy. It creates a War Refugee Board consisting of the Secretaries of State, Treasury and War. The Board is charged with direct responsibility to the President in seeing that the announced policy is carried out. The President indicated that while he would look directly to the Board for the execution of this policy, the Board would cooperate with the Intergovernmental Committee, UNRRA, and other interested international organizations. The President stated that he expected the cooperation of all members of the United Nations and other governments in carrying out this difficult but important task. He stated that the existing facilities of the State, Treasury and War Departments would be employed to furnish aid to Axis victims to the fullest extent possible. He stressed that it was urgent that action be taken to forestall the plot of the Nazis to exterminate the Jews and other persecuted minorities in Europe.

You should do everything possible to effectuate this policy of this Government, bearing in mind that time is of the essence. You should cooperate closely with all public and established private agencies who are active in your

area

840.1 - 3 January / 711

area in this field, aiding them in the development of coordinated programs and in the effectuation of integrated measures for the rescue, transportation, maintenance and relief of victims of enemy oppression, etc.

The communication facilities should be made freely available to these private agencies for all appropriate messages for carrying out the policy of this Government herein stated, keeping the War Refugee Board advised through the Department. You should give them every assistance in obtaining and verifying information.

You are requested to render an immediate report concerning the actual situation as it exists today in the country to which you are accredited. This report should include a full statement as to what is being done to rescue the Jews and other persecuted minorities from Hitler, including particularly (a) the extent to which these war refugees are permitted to enter the country to which you are accredited (b) the extent to which such country actually encourages and cooperates in their entry and (c) the extent to which such refugees are not able to enter such country because of the failure of such country to cooperate in their entry. This report should cover actual cases which have come to your attention involving refugees being turned back at the border and the reasons why such refugees were turned back. You should also report periodically on cases of this character which come to your attention in the future.

You should include in your report your recommendations as to what you feel this Government can do to effectuate with all possible speed the rescue and relief of the victims of enemy oppression, including particularly what can be done to make the government of the country to which you are accredited cooperate more fully in carrying out this policy. Your report should cover any special obstacles which you feel are interfering with the rescue and relief of these victims and your recommendations as to what can be done to remove these obstacles.

✓ You are requested to approach the Government to which you are accredited, explain the policy expressed in the

President's

-3-

President's Executive Order referred to above, and ascertain from such Government the extent to which it is prepared to cooperate.

Diplomatic and consular officers are instructed to do everything possible to carry out the policy expressed in the President's Executive Order. This cablegram has been transmitted by telegram or cipher to all diplomatic and consular offices.

Repeat to consular offices under your jurisdiction.

HULL

The Iraq Government still maintains its policy not to permit foreign Jews from crossing Iraq for settlement in Palestine. This policy has been adopted by the government in order that the number of Jews be not increased in Palestine. This policy is already known to the Jews and the question of the refusal of the Iraq Government last year to permit a party of Polish Jews from crossing Iraq in transit for Palestine has been discussed in ~~the United States press~~ the United States press. ~~Although~~ In defiance of the Iraq Government's instructions in this respect the Iraq Police is aware that certain Jewish emigrants actually crossed ^{Iraq} in Army trucks for settlement in Palestine.

American Jews. The instructions are of ^a general nature and American Jews ~~may~~ are no exception. It is remarked however, that American Jews may be allowed to cross Iraq. The Iraq Government considers Americans as American citizens irrespective of their religion or creed and in as much as American passports do not mention the religion of their holders there is a possibility that certain American Jews may be allowed to pass through Iraq to Palestine. In the event however, that the Iraq Government will be certain that the American applying for a transit visa is a Jew he will not be accorded the required visa.

Iraqi Jews. If the Iraq Government will be aware that Iraqi Jews applying for a passport intends to settle in Palestine such a passport will be denied. Passports are however issued to local Jews with the pretext that they are going to Palestine for medical treatment. Of course, everything depends on the backing Jewish applicants may have and the party which is interested in seeing that such applicants receive visas for Palestine.

Incidentally, it may be mentioned here that wealthy Jews desiring to emigrate to Palestine generally go to Najib Al-Rawee and pay him a handsome sum of money in the form of his fee as a lawyer defending their case. Najib Al-Rawee is said to sharing that sum of money with his brother Ahmad Al-Rawee who is the Director General of Police and who is the authority in issuing passports.

AIRGRAM

SECRET

FROM
Baghdad

DATED
February 18, 1944.

RECEIVED

Secretary of State
Washington.

//
A-A, February 18, noon.

Department's circular airgram of January 26,
1944, 7 p. m.

1. So far as the Legation has been able to ascertain no Jewish or other refugees from Nazi persecution desire or have desired to find a refuge or to establish a domicile in this country. The only refugee problem which has faced Iraq, therefore, has been that of refugees in transit. The Iraqi Government has in general pursued a policy of permitting these refugees to pass through the country unless they happened to be Jews traveling to Palestine to settle there. Although the Legation does not know that there are any Jews awaiting permission to cross Iraq to Palestine it is possible that there are some at present in Iran.
2. It will be recalled that my predecessor on October 20, 1942, under instructions from the Department discussed this matter with the Prime Minister who explained to him why the Iraqi Government would not permit Jews to cross Iraq in order to settle in Palestine (see Legation's telegram no. 246 of October 20, 1942, 9 p. m.) and that the Counselor of the British Embassy under instructions from his Government also mentioned the matter several days later to the Prime Minister and received a rather sharp rebuff (see Legation's telegram no. 248 of October 23, 1942, 5 p. m.).
3. The considerations which prompt the Iraqi Government to refuse visas to Jewish refugees bound for Palestine appear to be based on national policies of so vital a nature that in my opinion no approaches of the character suggested in the penultimate paragraph of the airgram under reference would alter them. The main objective of Iraqi foreign policy is to

promote/

-2- A-8, Baghdad, February 18, noon.

promote closer Arab cooperation with a view to the formation in the not distant future of some kind of a union of Arab states in this area. The Iraqi Government is convinced that if the Zionists are able to achieve their goal of setting up a National Jewish State in Palestine this objective cannot be accomplished and that the success of the Zionist program would mean the non-realization of Arab hopes for the future. They also believe that the settlement of additional Jews in Palestine would serve to strengthen the Zionist cause and to weaken their own. They take the view that the Zionists are taking advantage of the sympathy which Nazi atrocity has aroused for the Jews in order to introduce great numbers of Jews into Palestine and thus to ensure the success of their program at a time when the Arabs, because of wartime limitations upon communications and transportation are not able fully to present their side of the case. It is believed that unless backed by foreign armed forces it would be almost impossible for any Government to survive in Iraq just now which would take steps to facilitate the travel of Jewish settlers to Palestine, and it would be difficult to convince local Arabs that Jewish refugees bound for Palestine will not eventually settle there.

4. Increased Zionist activity in the United States has served to strengthen suspicions which the enemy is propagating by every means available to it that the American Government has some kind of an understanding with the Zionists and intends following the termination of the war to support the Zionist program. Nazi propagandists in particular have exploited to the full certain statements made recently by prominent American politicians in favor of the Zionists and as a result the sensitiveness of the Iraqi Government with regard to American support of Zionism has grown (see my telegram no. 31 of February 14, 7 p. m., 1944).

5. Since the only refugee problem which might become active here is that of the transit of Jewish refugees to Palestine, and since any approach which I might make with regard to that problem is not likely to alter the attitude of the Iraqi Government towards it, I shall not make the approach suggested unless I receive further instructions from the Department. I am convinced that such an approach by me would be of help to no one except to the enemy.

The/

-3-

A-8, Baghdad, February 18, noon.

The Legation will continue to observe any developments which might take place in the situation with regard to refugees and will not hesitate to approach the Iraqi Government in case it would appear that by so doing it could assist any of them. The Legation will also keep the Department informed of developments or of cases of refugees who appear to be in need of our aid.

Henderson

LWH/dob

AIRGRAM SENT

HEL

February 29, 1944

7:30 p.m.

CIRCULAR AIRGRAM TO BE SENT TO ALL AMERICAN MISSIONS

EXCEPT

LONDON, CIUDAD TRUJILLO, SAN SALVADOR,

PORT-AU-PRINCE, TEGUCIGALPA, LA PAZ, and BUENOS AIRES.

The following airgram is sent at the request of the President's War Refugee Board:

Refer to Department's cable of January 25 concerning the President's Executive Order establishing the War Refugee Board and declaring the policy of this Government.

In discussing this matter with the Foreign Office of the government to which you are accredited, you are requested to make it clear that the establishment of the War Refugee Board represents this Government's determination effectively to carry out without delay the policy to take all possible measures for the speedy rescue and relief of the refugees of Europe.

Although this Government on its part intends to take all possible action with all possible speed, we feel certain that this effort will not be unilateral and we wish to make it clear that it continues to be the policy of this Government to encourage and participate in effective cooperative efforts with other governments.

As the President has stated, the Board of course will cooperate fully with all interested international organizations.

You are requested to make clear to the government to which you are accredited the position of this Government and our desire for its cooperative action. You should explore with the appropriate officials of the Foreign Office the possibility of implementing such cooperation through the issuance by their Government of a declaration

of policy

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. E.A. Tamm	
Mr. Clegg	
Mr. Glavin	
Mr. Ladd	
Mr. Nichols	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tracy	
Mr. Carson	
Mr. Egan	
Mr. Gurnea	
Mr. Harbo	
Mr. Hendon	
Mr. Jones	
Mr. Quinn	
Mr. Nease	
Miss Gandy	

-2-, Circular airgram, February 29, 7:30 p.m.

of policy similar to that made by the President and the issuance by the Foreign Office of instructions to its representatives in other countries comparable to the instructions contained in the Department's telegram of January 25.

Please keep us informed on this matter.

STETTINIUS
(Acting)

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Damascus, Syria, February 24, 1944.

No. 81

Subject: Syrian Protest against Zionist Congressional
resolutions.

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

I have the honor to refer to my telegram No. 3 of February 24, quoting the text of Syrian Parliamentary protest against the recent resolutions in Congress advocating the creation of a Jewish National State in Palestine.

The purpose of this dispatch is to forward the complete text of the Syrian Foreign Office note, condensed therein, of February 23, 1944, handed to me this morning by Foreign Minister Jamil Mardam bey, and drafted in English. To it is attached also the text of the identic telegraphic messages of protest dispatched yesterday by the Speaker of the Syrian Parliament, Faris bey al-Khoury, and the Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee, Adnan al-Attassi.

As yet no public agitation has been manifested in Damascus and it is understood that the Government has for the time being prohibited press publicity on the subject. As stated in my telegram, I have orally informed the Foreign Minister of the substance of the Department's No. 10, February 18, to Baghdad. He professes understanding of this explanation, especially in an electoral year, but naturally hopes to receive a reassuring official reply from this Legation to which publicity can be given.

It is not amiss to add that French interests, to all appearances now deeply engaged in fomenting misunderstanding and disturbance to discredit or even overthrow the Syrian Government, thus delaying further the negotiations for transfer of powers, would in all probability take prompt advantage of the Zionist situation to further their program of embarrassing the Syrian Government, to say nothing of compromising the American and British Governments in the Syrian mind. A typical example is the recent press campaign on petroleum interests in Saudi Arabia, voicing the theme of "American exploitation of the Near East", and American action in "undiplomatically announcing the Saudi Arabian concessions without consultation with interested governments".

In

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P. J. J. J.

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In these critical circumstances, it is hoped that the text of reply to the Syrian Foreign Office can be made to contain the maximum of reassurance, in a form suitable for publicity not only in Syria, but in other Arab countries; as Syrian cabinet officials are in intimate and rapid contact with other Arab leaders on problems affecting the Arab world.

Respectfully yours,

William M. Farrell
Charge d'Affaires a.i.

Enclosure: Text of note dated February 23,
1944, from the Syrian Foreign Office.

840.1
WRF/wjp

Valid to Department
Copies to: Beirut, Jerusalem, Baghdad,
Cairo, Jeddah and Algiers.

Enclosure to despatch No. 51 of February 24, 1944 from
American Legation, Damascus

COPY

Republique Syrienne
Ministère
Des Affaires Étrangères

Damascus, le 23/2/1944

No. 1/3

The Ministry for Foreign Affairs presents its compliments to the Legation of the United States of America, and has the honour to enclose, for transmission to the State Department, a copy of the telegram addressed by the President of the Syrian Parliament and the Chairman of the Parliamentary Committee for Foreign Affairs to the President of the American Senate, the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee, Washington, protesting against the motions raised in Congress to demand increased Jewish immigration into Palestine.

The Syrian Government share fully the views expressed in the telegram, and cannot conceal their surprise that the question of the Jewish National Home in Palestine should be raised in Congress without regard to its deep effects on Arab opinion at a time when the Arab States, and Syria not the least amongst them, are endeavouring to give their utmost assistance to the Allied Cause, and to strengthen and develop the good relations which happily exist between them and the American Government.

The Ministry for Foreign Affairs ventures to add that, should the policy advocated in the motions be adopted and enforced, it will undoubtedly create grave repercussions in Syria and the Arab world, - repercussions which will be difficult to impede, animated though the Governments concerned might be by the most friendly sentiments.

The Ministry for Foreign Affairs is therefore of opinion that, while the Syrian Government will never be prepared to tolerate the settlement of the Jews in Palestine at the expense of the Arabs, they deem it inopportune to raise the question now, and expect that every decision on the subject will be deferred till the end of the War when, it is hoped, an Allied Victory will put the ideals of the Atlantic Charter into effect and so realize the aspirations of the Arabs.

In drawing the attention of the Legation of the United States of America to these points, the Ministry for Foreign Affairs hopes that it has defined the policy of the Syrian Government clearly and frankly, and requests that the Legation will soon favour it with a reply that will dissipate its fears as well as the fears of all Arabs.

In the meantime, the Ministry for Foreign Affairs seizes this opportunity to renew to the Legation of the United States of America the Expression of its most distinguished consideration.

Damascus, February 23rd., 1944.

PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE,
SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
CHAIRMAN OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE,

WASHINGTON

NOTIONS IS CONSIDERED REGARDING A STEADY INCORPORATION
TO CREATE JEWISH STATE IN PALESTINE CATASTROPHICALLY
ARAB RIGHTS AND JEOPARDISING PUBLIC PEACE IN ARAB STATES IF
THE MIDDLE EAST AND A VASTLY AVAILABLE RESOURCES ARE BEING
PUT WILLINGLY AT THE DISPOSAL OF THE ARAB AND ASSURING
VICTORY. THE PASSING OF SUCH NOTIONS CREATES ALL CONFIDENCE
IN INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE AND THOSE GOOD VALUES GUARANTEED BY
THE ATLANTIC CHARTER. HANDLING MATTERS TO JUNE AT THE
EXPENSE OF ARABES CANNOT BE JUSTIFIED. WE REQUEST THAT FULL
STUDY OF THE ARAB RIGHTS IN PALESTINE BE MADE BEFORE
BRINGING THE AFORESAID NOTIONS UP FOR DEBATE.

PARIS AL-KHOURI
PRESIDENT OF THE SYRIAN PARLIAMENT

ADNAN AL-ATTABSI
CHAIRMAN OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE



LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

The American Legation at Cairo presents its compliments to the American Legation at Baghdad and, referring to the Legation's telegram of February 18, 9 a.m. regarding an aide-memoire on the Palestine question transmitted by the Egyptian Government to its Minister in Washington for communication to the Secretary of State, transmits herewith a copy of the document in question.

Cairo, February 22, 1944.

Enclosure as stated.

To the

American Legation,

Baghdad.

840.1 - *Jerusalem*

8

Aide Memoire

Le Gouvernement Egyptien avait eu l'honneur de faire parvenir au Gouvernement des Etats-Unis deux lettres, l'une en date du 21 janvier 1943, l'autre en date du 23 mars 1943, au sujet du problème palestinien et de l'immigration juive en Palestine.

Il y exposait son point de vue, lequel coïncide exactement avec le point de vue de tous les peuples arabes du Moyen-Orient.

Par la suite, l'Egypte recut un certain apaisement dans l'assurance donnée à notre Ministre à Washington par le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis en mars 1943 que la question de Palestine en général ne serait réglée qu'avec le consentement de tous les intéressés."

Mais il semble qu'un courant d'opinion soit en train de se propager au sujet de ces questions et qu'on envisage même, dans certains cercles parlementaires aux Etats-Unis, l'éventualité de déclarer nul et non avenu le Livre Blanc, lequel, cependant, n'avait pas reçu l'approbation du peuple palestinien, bien qu'il eût envisagé le problème d'une manière moins regrettée. Aussi un mouvement se dessine en Amérique, qui tend à encourager l'immigration juive en Palestine et à frustrer progressivement les Palestiniens de leur droit à l'indépendance politique et à la souveraineté nationale.

Cela est d'autant plus inquiétant que les discours et les écrits de quelques parlementaires américains trahissent une attitude nettement agressive à l'égard des Arabes. Les craintes de ceux-ci sont certainement justifiées lorsqu'ils voient que la résolution introduite à la Chambre portant abolition du Livre Blanc et conversion de la Palestine en colonie juive, ne rencontre presque pas d'opposition.

Le problème sioniste, qui fut la cause de tant de difficultés et qui provoque des troubles croissants, risque, par l'encouragement qu'il reçoit ainsi, de faire naître troubles et difficultés et de créer un grave conflit, non seulement avec les peuples palestiniens, mais également avec tous les peuples arabes qui travaillent, en ce moment, à unir leurs intérêts sur la base d'une plus étroite solidarité.

La question des juifs persécutés et le problème sioniste ne forment pas une seule et même question. Les peuples arabes, comme tous les peuples civilisés, réprouvent hautement le traitement barbare dont les juifs d'Occident sont l'objet. Mais on ne saurait prendre prétexte de ces persécutions pour persécuter, à son tour, le peuple palestinien - d'ailleurs formé de natifs, musulmans, chrétiens et juifs - et pour le soumettre aux visées et ambitions sionistes.

Ni la Palestine, ni les peuples arabes voisins n'accepteraient une telle situation. Le Gouvernement Egyptien, qui n'a jamais cessé de rechercher un terrain d'entente et de conciliation, est en droit de manifester ses appréhensions devant le mouvement qui se précise.

Les Arabes et Arabes ont connu suffisamment la
preuve de leur utilité à l'égard du monde arabe.
Ils leur ont apporté une aide précieuse, ils ont été loyaux
et ils n'ont pas cessé de leur offrir un vrai et véritable
et de l'attachement au monde arabe, à l'humanité universelle,
c'est-à-dire à l'humanité universelle et à la justice humaine.

Cette justice politique, les Arabes Arabes ont
droit autant que les autres Arabes. Ils ont décidé
dans la Charte de l'Atlantique à la fois à l'égard et
pour le présent et à l'avenir, pour l'avenir, à l'égard
des Arabes. Ils veulent une justice humaine, à l'égard
l'un d'eux, une justice à l'égard de tous, et ils ne veulent
pas admettre que la justice soit faite à l'égard de
de la Charte de l'Atlantique à la justice humaine.

Le Gouvernement américain ne doit pas insister encore
une fois sur le danger sioniste dont les chefs n'ont pas
créé que leur action était de transformer la Palestine
en une puissance arabe. Les Arabes qui trouvent
en Amérique un pays actif et sympathique ont un droit
effectif dans les opinions publiques Arabes et musulmanes.
Une telle propagande pourrait, malheureusement, donner
aux Arabes Arabes et musulmans l'impression que l'Amérique
favorise les Juifs au détriment des Arabes.

Le Gouvernement américain est convaincu que les cercles
officiels et responsables ne manqueront pas d'apporter
toute leur attention à un problème aussi important. L'Egypte,
comme tous les peuples Arabes, attache un grand intérêt
au développement de plus en plus important des relations
amicales avec les Etats-Unis et son désir est que rien ne
vienne les altérer. Elle tient cependant à souligner une fois
de plus, les énormes difficultés qui ne manqueraient pas de
survenir si des personnes responsables étaient amenées à
faire des actes, des promesses, ou des déclarations publiques en
faveur des sionistes.

Le Gouvernement américain a tout lieu d'espérer que
l'Union soviétique qu'il a fait le Gouvernement américain
sérieusement pris en considération. Les intérêts croissants
que les Etats-Unis ont dans le Moyen-Orient l'amènent
certains à considérer la question de Palestine à
la lumière de la Charte de l'Atlantique, aucun solution
ne devant intervenir qu'avec le consentement du principal
intéressé qui est le peuple palestinien.

Baghdad, February 28, 1944.

No. 187

Subject: Telegrams Protestin Against Resolution on
Palestine Introduced in Congress.

The Honorable
Secretary of State,
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

I have the honor to refer to my telegram no. 31
of February 14, 7 p.m., relating to the resolutions
introduced into the House and Senate in favor of the
establishment in Palestine of a Jewish Commonwealth
and to enclose herewith copies of three telegrams which
I understand have been sent by Iraqi officials to
members of the United States Senate and House of Rep-
resentatives.

Respectfully yours,

Loy W. Henderson

File No. 800
LWH:mph

Enclosures:

1. Telegram from President of Iraqi Chamber
of Senators to Senator Wagner.
2. Telegram from President of Iraqi Chamber
of Deputies to Senator Wagner.
3. Telegram from President of Iraqi Chamber
of Senators and Iraqi Chamber of Deputies
to Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Copies to:

American Legation, Cairo.
American Legation, Jidda.
American Legation, Beirut.
American Legation, Damascus.
American Consulate General, Jerusalem.

Enclosure no. 1 to despatch no.
187 of February 28, 1944, from
the American Legation, Baghdad.

I am quite sure that when you introduced your resolution in the United States Senate calling for the lifting of all restrictions upon the immigration into Palestine of Jewish refugees from Nazi persecution you did so in the interests of humanity.

The Arab peoples share with all other peoples the deepest sympathy for these unfortunate victims of enemy oppression. Nevertheless, I feel it is my duty, as President of the Iraqi Senate, to call your attention to the fact that an increase in the numbers of Jews in Palestine has become a political rather than a humanitarian object in view of the announced aim of the Zionists to obtain through immigration a Jewish majority in Palestine for the purpose of converting it from an Arab country into a Jewish National State.

These plans of the Zionists are, in the opinion of the Arab world, in sharp contradiction with the spirit of the Atlantic Charter, paragraphs two and three of which declare:-

"They desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned" and "They respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live."

In that Charter and in the Declaration of the United Nations were clearly enunciated the principles which contributed to the rallying of the Arab people to the cause of the United Nations.

I sincerely hope that you will find it possible to withdraw your resolution, since I feel that its passage may further mislead the American people into the belief that an increase of Jewish immigration into Palestine would be a humanitarian policy, and assist in solving the problem of the Jewish refugees. Palestine is overpopulated already and it is only by dispossessing Arabs that room can be made for the Jews. Such a result would not be in accordance with humanitarian motives which moved you to introduce your resolution and would conflict with the spirit and letter of the Atlantic Charter. Moreover it would strengthen the efforts of Axis propagandists to persuade the Arab peoples that their great allies have not been sincere in stating the principles for which they are fighting and that the American Government and people have in reality no interest in or sympathy with the Arab peoples.

I am convinced that any increase of Jewish immigration into Palestine would eventually result in bloodshed and certainly in disturbed conditions which would not contribute to the happiness of the Jews settled in that country or to that of the Arabs.

I may add that this question has been the subject of deep study for many years by officials of the government responsible for the welfare of Palestine, as well as by Arab and Jewish leaders. In 1939 the British Government (which had in 1920 been appointed the mandatory over Palestine by the League of Nations) after long deliberation issued a decision embodied in the popularly known 1939 White Paper which laid down what it considered to be a fair solution of

the/

the problem of Jewish immigration into Palestine. Although not fully satisfactory to the Arabs it has in fact succeeded in securing peace during the past five years in what had previously been a war-ridden country.

It is my sincere advice based on my knowledge of the feelings of all Arabs, both in Iraq and neighbouring states, that, in the interest of our common cause, no changes be made in the policy of that White Paper so far as Jewish immigration into Palestine is concerned.

In conclusion I beg you to remember that what touches Palestine touches all Arabs, for quite apart from the fact that it is now inhabited by Arabs, it is a Holy Land, to all Arabs both Christian and Muslim, hallowed by its associations with the founders and leaders of both our faiths.

MUHAMMAD AL-HADAD
President of Iraq Chamber of
Deputies

TO: SENATOR WAGNER,
WASHINGTON.

Addressed to Senator Wagner.
Copies to the Chairman of the Foreign Affairs
Committee of the Senate Washington and
Senator East, Washington.

Enclosure no. 2 to despatch no.
187 dated February 28, 1944, from
the American Legation, Baghdad.

I have been informed that you have introduced into the Senate of the United States of America a proposal the purport of which is to open the doors of Palestine to Jewish refugees without any restriction or conditions.

I take this opportunity to inform you that the Arab peoples, who have always been famous for their protection of the weak, share your humanitarian feelings and your sympathy towards these victims fleeing from oppression. Nevertheless the proposal to flood Palestine with these Jewish refugees is in fact nothing but a political move on the part of the Zionists who are attempting by means of such immigration to realise their aspiration of transforming that Arab country into a Jewish National State. This is the clear and outstanding fact to which I beg to draw your attention so as to put an end to the wrong impression under which some of the noble American people are labouring.

It is a fact agreed upon by all that permitting unrestricted and unconditional immigration into Palestine can only be effected at the expense of the Arabs, the sons of that country, and by turning them out of their native land. This cannot be done without causing disorder and disturbances which will certainly lead to bloodshed and devastation. How can such a tragic result be reconciled with the humanitarian motives which moved you to introduce your proposal in the Senate?

The aims and endeavours of the Zionists to secure a majority over the Arab population in Palestine is, I believe, contrary to the letter and spirit of the Atlantic Charter. It is unnecessary for me to point out that this and other Declarations of the United Nations were among the important factors which caused the Arabs to come and stand side by side with the United Nations.

If this resolution is finally adopted I am afraid that it will be used by Axis propagandists, in their attempts to convince those who will listen to them, as strong evidence that the Allies are not faithful to their pledges and undertakings, and that the American Government and people are indifferent to the fate of Arab peoples.

In view of what I have stated above I feel it my duty to forward this request for the withdrawal of your proposal and I have not the least doubt that you can do this for the sake of strengthening good relations between your country and the Arab nations and advancing our common interests. Respects.

Baghdad -

Addressed: Senator Wagner, Washington.

Repeated: Senator Tuf, Washington.

The Chairman of the Foreign Affairs

Committee of the Senate, Washington, &

The Iraqi Legation, Washington.

MOHD. RIDHA SHABIBI
PRESIDENT, IRAQI CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES

Enclosure no. 3 to despatch no.
187 dated February 28, 1944, from
the American Legation, Baghdad.

To the Speaker
The House of Representatives
Washington.

We understand that a resolution has been introduced in your House calling upon the United States Government to intervene and to take the action necessary to secure the opening of the doors of Palestine to unrestricted Jewish immigration and to give them full opportunity to colonise it so that Palestine may ultimately become an independent democratic Jewish State.

We do not know if you realize that this is tantamount to a request that the United States of America declare war on the Arabs of Palestine who have never committed any act of aggression against the United States of America nor against any of its citizens.

In 1918 there were in Palestine 800,000 Arabs (Muslim and Christian) and 30,000 Jews. In 1939 the Jews through assisted and subsidised immigration totalled over 350,000 and the Arabs of Palestine, totally unaided, fought with out-of-date weapons a bitter and bloody war against the upsurping Jews and the British Government, which had brought them to Palestine against the will of the Arab inhabitants.

The Arabs of Palestine are now muzzled. They can make no protest against this monstrous demand. The Arabs of Iraq cannot however remain silent. We must let you know in the clearest possible words the full implications of this demand. They are:

1. The elimination from Palestine of one million Arabs.
2. The consequent hostility to the United States of America of every Arab throughout the world.
3. The resentment - to say the least - of all Muslims throughout Asia and Africa.
4. The handing over of all the Holy places of the Muslims and Christians to the Jews.

It is generally recognised that few Jews would migrate to Palestine if they could find an asylum in the United States of America. Taking advantage of the refusal of the United States to admit more than a small proportion of these refugees the Zionists have raised the cry "Palestine for the Jews" and pretended that every refugee Jew wanted to settle in Palestine and establish a Jewish State there.

We cannot believe that the responsible body over whom you preside seriously contemplates the undertaking by the United States of such a dangerous policy. The proposers of this resolution may of course have had quite different objects in mind of which we have no knowledge.

But whatever be their motives we feel that you should realize how seriously even the introduction of such a resolution is taken in the whole Arab World.

If the United States does intervene in the manner suggested by this resolution it will read like a sentence

of/

of death to the Arabs in Palestine and cause despair and distrust throughout the Arab and Muslim worlds.

We beg you to use your influence to have the proposed resolution withdrawn. Already it is being utilized by Nazi propagandists to inflame Arab opinion not only against the Jews but against the democratic powers.

If it is withdrawn at once it will reestablish confidence in the United Nations and prove to the Arabs in particular and to the world in general that the U.N. does intend to stand by the noble principles and ideals of policy laid down in the Atlantic Charter and the Declaration of the United Nations.

Addressed the Speaker of the House of Representatives Washington copies to the Vice President of the United States of America in his capacity as Chairman of the Senate, and to Iraq Legation Washington.

From Jamil Al Madfal President Iraq Chamber of Senators and Muhammad Ridha Shabibi President Iraq Chamber of Deputies.

THE PROBLEM OF PALESTINE IS
THE PROBLEM OF THE ARABIC COUNTRIES

A Demonstration of This Fact -- and a
Comment on Statements Made in the American
Congress

Yesterday, this newspaper published a news item dealing with the protest made by the Egyptian government to the government of the United States, with regard to statements addressed to a special committee of the (U.S.) Senate, concerning establishment of a Jewish State in Palestine.

The point most worthy of note in this case is the surprising suddenness with which America has startled the friendly public opinion of the Arabic world by this incident. Even more unusual in this case is the fact that this friendly state should attempt to deprive the Arabs of their rights in Palestine, at a time when she is known throughout the world as a nation which practices the principles of freedom, and is today fighting a catastrophic war in the defense of these principles. Moreover, America is one of the two great democratic nations which laid down the Atlantic Charter -- that binding document which declares, in its second paragraph, that the signatories "do not desire to see territorial changes take place in a manner inconsistent with the freely expressed will of the respective nations."

How can such a stipulation be made consistent with the idea of establishing a Zionist State in Palestine -- a state, the establishment of which would contradict in every way the free desire of this Arab country, and would trample the rights of all Arabs living in neighboring countries? The charge which we refrain from making against our friend, America, is an undesirable one.

We are bewildered that such an act could be committed by America, the country whose Secretary of State, Mr. Cordell Hull, has publicly declared to have as one of its leading war aims the aim that "all nations which prove that they respect the ideas and ideals of other nations, and that they have the ability to carry out the responsibilities of freedom, are worthy of enjoying an independent existence."

The Arab countries, in their various nations, have sprung up to fight against despotism, in defense of those who struggle to safeguard the principles of freedom. Certainly they have been inspired to fight only by their love of these principles, and their desire to see that these privileges would be available to them as well as to others. The Arabs have been known throughout all the stages of history as one of the nations (sic) who have carried to the rest of the world the ideal of justice and equality, and who have worshipped the concept of freedom and practiced it. They have contributed much toward building up the essential bases of human civilization.

If the American nation sings an anthem glorifying the part which American leaders have played in world history, in supporting the principles of freedom, in defending justice, and in abhorring despotism -- and if this friendly nation quotes Abraham Lincoln's words in his historic oration at the cemetery of Gettysburg: "All men are created equal" -- then it must be remembered that the Arabs

"Al Iraq" story

have their share of eternal reminiscences; a share of which they may be equally proud. It was the Caliph Omar ibn El-Khattab who once similarly said "How can you enslave the people when their mothers have borne them free?"

The Arab peoples are displeased to see their brother nation, in respect to love of freedom, the American people, siding with injustice in the case of Palestine at the same time that the reins of power in the United States are held by President Roosevelt -- who would not submit to allow the old world be overwhelmed by the forces of darkness and who urged his own nation to enter the war and sacrifice everything dear and valuable, in the cause of the defense of freedom against aggressors.

The Arab people find it a heartbreaking business to forward their protests to the United States, their co-partners in the struggle for the freedom of individuals and communities, and their collaborators in the war against those States which have violated and degraded those rights.

The Arab nation, in feeling compelled to pursue such a course of action, is impelled by the imperative motive of the defense of its rights, and by a desire to protect a sacred area of the Arab countries against forced occupation by non-Arab elements. Meanwhile, this Nation feels confident that America, the friendly country, would never desert the spirit of friendship which links her to the millions of Arabs, simply to help the Zionists to fulfill their ambitions at the expense of the Arabs.

The Arabs know this well, as they also know that the Zionists' ambitions are contradictory to the text of Paragraph 3 of the Atlantic Charter, which stipulates that "Britain and America respect the rights of all nations to choose the kind of rule under which they prefer to live, and desire to see the rights of self-government returned to those from whom they were taken away."

Arabs in Palestine have never ceased, throughout the years following the first World War, in their struggle for the defense of their sovereignty and independence. It is not right, therefore, that these people should remain deprived of their liberty and threatened by providing, in their homeland, a State for another people, alien to their land.

These are not all of the aspects of the matter. The issue is not the concern of the Arab people in Palestine alone; it concerns the peoples of all the Arab countries. These people have been striving for this same cause for the past twenty years, during which, more than once, cordial relations with their Allies have been embittered and disorder has prevailed in the Near East as the Zionists and their sympathizers have tried to violate Arab rights.

Today, while the Arab States are holding consultations on the issue of ~~providing~~ the Pan-Arab question, and while statements are being made by responsible men to the effect that no Union or Unity will be achieved without an independent and Arabian Palestine, the Arab World is confronted, from America, by a thing which would tend to make the Arabs suspect the reality of the declared war aims of this nation. It is not in the interest of the democratic nations or the United Nations to let such suspicions find their way into the minds of the people.

"Al Iraq" story...

Iraq has been an interested in the cause of Palestine since has been in her own, and has regarded Palestine as an integral part of the group of Arab countries, and she has in unity and for their future position in the Arab world in which Iraq has a vested interest. Thus, Iraq has a national duty to stand for justice and to stand for Right in her dealing with the Palestine question, and not to be an injustice to the Arab peoples in this cause.

Meanwhile, Iraq demands that her British ally put an end to the ordeals and disasters suffered by the Palestinian Arab people in their struggles for their seven rights in their own country. In addition, Iraq reminds her allies that the Arab countries will never know rest and tranquility unless justice is given to the Palestinian Arabs -- until the Arab people in Palestine have an independent status as have their brothers in other independent Arab countries.

We await a statement from our British ally, clarifying her policy concerning Palestine; particularly at this time, when the term of the White Paper is approaching its end.

We expect the collaboration of the Arab states to save Palestine from Zionist plottings. This collaboration should not be less than it was in the case of our Lebanese sister.

and

((This story page one, heavily displayed))

NEWSPAPER TRANSLATION

Source: All Baghdad Arabic
newspapers for March 1, 1944

March 1, 1944

The following statement appeared today in all Baghdad Arabic newspapers, over the signature of the Director General of Propaganda. Headlines varied: Al Shihab, from which this was translated, headed it as shown:

OFFICIAL COMMUNIQUE

Recently news reached the Government of Iraq that Zionist propagandists in the United States of America had discussed the subject of immigration into Palestine both in the Senate and in the Chamber of Deputies (sic), and wanted to gain approval of a proposal to leave the door of Palestine open to Jewish immigration, contrary to provisions of the ~~White Paper~~ British White Paper.

The Government of Iraq did all that was possible to defeat these attempts, which relied on exploitation of the feelings of America. It tried also to explain the real situation to the public.

Jamil Madfai, President of the Senate, and Sayid Ridha al-Shabibi, President of the Chamber of Deputies, sent cables to the chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the American Senate, and to the members of the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies who had presented the proposal; one which could lead to the infringement of the rights of the Arabs in Palestine.

The governments of Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Syria and the Lebanon undertook to act similarly.

These attempts led to get satisfactory results. XX

DIRECTOR GENERAL OF
PROPAGANDA

XX(This final sentence translated literally, word for word, to prevent misconstruction.)ge

2/21 - American

TRANSLATION

Telegram No. 377
Date of Registration 14/30
Receives at hours 16
Number of words 198
Administrative instructions: Ten addresses
Dated: 2
Office of Issue: Mosul

His Excellency

The American Minister Plenipotentiary
Baghdad.

Palestine is Arab from the date of the Amalekites
and Moslem from the date of the second Calif, Umar al-Farooq,
the Conqueror of Jerusalem known for his noble era. Palestine
was a Roman colony, not a Jewish state, when they conspired
with the imperialists against Christ. Its opening to
the Jews will injure the feelings of sixty million Arabs
and 400 million Moslems. It is like using the property
of others, as the saying goes: The prince granted what
he did not possess! It has been the hope of the Arabs who
feel like the Allies in these critical circumstances that
the legal heirs of Palestine get their right at the expira-
tion of the White Paper period, of which one month still
remains. Thus they would adhere to the projected Arab
federation with the aid of the Allies and thus Mr. Roosevelt
would realize in the present war the principles of his
predecessor, Mr. Wilson of the previous war. If he sympathizes
with the Jews, the ^{ir}revenge is with Hitler, their enemy and
his enemy, and not with the Arabs, the friends of the Allies
in this sentiment. In my religious and national capacity,

840.1 - Zisvian

- 2 -

I support the protests of the Government of Iraq and of
the/^{Great}Government of sister Egypt to the United States against
the statement made in the American Senate concerning the
establishment of a Jewish home in Palestine. I believe
these statements are local and private which should not
be upheld by the powers adhering to the Atlantic Charter.

Habib Ubaidi.
Mufti of Mosul

tr: JNC

Baghdad, Iraq, March 7, 1944.

Sayid Habib Ubaidi,
Mufti of Mosul,
Mosul, Iraq.

Sir:

I acknowledge the receipt of your telegram of
March 2, 1944, which is receiving the Legation's
attention.

Very truly yours,

For the Minister:

d.
Daniel Gaudin, Jr.,
Second Secretary of Legation.

File No. 000
DG/efg.



Damascus, Syria, March 3, 1944

No. 86

Subject: Damascus Press Reaction to Zionist Resolutions.

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington, D.C.

Sir:

I have the honor to refer to my despatch No. 81 of February 24, 1944, transmitting the full text of Syrian Foreign Office and Parliamentary protests against the Zionist resolutions in Congress.

Reaction in Damascus has been to date far milder than might normally be expected in this cradle of Pan-Arabism. The Government, through censorship, has broad-mindedly repressed any inflammatory publicity. Short articles of a merely factual nature appeared March 1, and have continued in this vein to date. Al-Istiqal of March 2-3 describes the protests made by various Arab countries as a "noble intervention".

Of interest is the only more extensive interpretative article on the subject which has appeared to date, because of its moderate tone. This was published in Al-Maar of yesterday, and is summarized as follows:

"We must start with the declaration itself, and we would find that it emanates from determined politicians who did nothing more than interpreting their own and personal view point whatever be their position. We find nothing in these resolutions which shows a line of conduct followed by the Government of the United States at this delicate moment, or a fundamental principle which this Government tries to adopt. But the Arabs who have always been burnt by the fire of politics, especially as concerned Palestine always fear the least incident. That is why all the Arab States raised a protest which is nothing less than a patriotic duty and a sign of national awakening. Paper says that it addresses these words with calm and freedom and adds that the Arabism of Palestine suffers no competition. It expresses hope that the Allies who are fighting for the liberation of the World will not deprive the Arabs of their liberty, so dear to them. It then states that the persecution of the Jews is undoubtedly temporary and that when the Nazi regime disappears they will have all the chance to return to their homelands which would undoubtedly be in great need of their services and knowledge. It expresses the hope lastly that this question will not be left in abeyance by the Allies because this would be like an arrow administered to the very heart of the Arab cause. There are two sides to the question, paper goes on to say, the first national and we accept no argument in this. The second international and here we must act as a capable

lawyer

840.1-2 Jordanian

- 2 -

lawyer and not as a revolting accuser, for feelings can do nothing against facts and reason."

Meanwhile, public reaction to press news on the subject has been likewise moderate. It is probably well realized that the present delicate period of Franco-Syrian negotiations is a dangerous time to indulge in serious anti-Zionist agitation.

Respectfully yours,

William S. Farrell,
Charge d'Affaires a.i.

File no. 840.1

WSE/wjp

Asalid to the Department,

Copies to, Baghdad, Beirut, Jerusalem, Cairo, Algiers and Jidda

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

From: American Legation
Cairo, Egypt.

Date: March 4, 11 a.

No.:

Code: Brown

Received: March 6, 1944

TO	FOR	FOR	INT.
ACT.	EXP.		
MAN			
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TEST			
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WCB			

Following is essential part of communication left with me last night by El Sayyid Hussein El Kobai representative of King of Yemen in recent Arab Union discussions, regarding proposed congressional resolution on Palestine:

"His Majesty the King of Yemen and Commander of the Faithful, Yehya Ibn Mohamed Hamdi El Dine and His Majesty's Government disapprove of the resolution submitted to the American Congress designed to remove restrictions imposed on the immigration of Jews into Palestine. His Majesty disapproves everything that causes trouble to the rightful owners of Palestine - Moslems, Christians and native Jews - and although he condemns every cruelty to which Jews in Europe are subjected he does not consider that it justifies the oppression of the Arabs of Palestine in their own legal abode."

Text of communication was carried in this morning's Al Nisri in verbatim form except for omission of phrase "Moslems Christians and Jews".

Repeated to Jerusalem, Jidda, Baghdad and Beirut.

Kirk

File no. 800
DCB

84501 - Revision

TELEGRAM SENT

To: Secretary of State
Washington, D. C.

Date: March 4, 1944.

No.: 48

Code: En clair

Charged to: Gratis (MA)

1-1142

QUOTE

The Iraq Government has been informed of the endeavors of Zionist propagandists in the United States of America in regard to the question of immigration into Palestine, with a view to obtaining support in the American Senate and Congress for a proposal to open the doors of immigration into Palestine for the Jews, in contravention of the British White Paper. The Iraq Government has taken all necessary steps to defeat those endeavors (which are based on an attempt to exploit public sympathy in America) and to enlighten public opinion about the real situation. Sayid Jamil al-Madfa'i, President of the Senate, and Sayid Ridha Al-Shabibi, President of the Chamber of Deputies, have sent telegrams to the Chairman of the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee in America as well as to the American Senators who submitted the proposal, explaining the harmful repercussions and pointing out that it would transgress on the rights of the Arabs in Palestine. The Governments of Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Syria, and the Lebanon have taken similar action. These efforts have led to satisfactory results.

UNQUOTE

Henderson

File no. 800
DCB

840.1 - Division

Paraphrase

Legation files

To: Secretary of State,
Washington, D. C.

No. 47, March 4, 11 p.m.

From: American Legation,
Baghdad.

2. This morning I called on the Foreign Minister at his request. Some of the statements he made to me follow:

a. The publicity in the Iraqi press of the past three days regarding Zionist activities in the United States and, in particular, the resolutions, is a source of regret on the part of the Iraqi Government which had attempted to prevent the subject from coming to the attention of the public. However, after the Egyptian Government's protest had been publicized by the BBC and Reuters, the Iraqi Government had no other course than to issue its March 1 communique.

b. Since then the Government has been subjected to criticism for its failure to take stronger measures and for concealing from the public a matter so gravely important. Already, the Government has been attacked in Parliament and further attacks are anticipated. Its position for reply was awkward in that it could not divulge all that had occurred without freshening the flames.

c. His Legation in Washington reported that Senator Wagner had submitted to it an unsympathetic message for transmission to the President of the Iraqi Senate but the Legation refused to accept it. This message is understood to have been sent through some other channel but had not been received up to this time.

d. The Foreign Office has been besieged with inquiries from all directions ever since the matter became public. It was being approached several times daily by the diplomatic representatives of other Arab states in Baghdad who were seeking news of developments.

3. In my reply to the Foreign Minister I followed the lines suggested in the second paragraph of the Department's No. 27, of March 2, 7 p.m. I told him that his Government's efforts to prevent the matter from turning in such a way as to affect Iraqi-American relations adversely were appreciated. However, I pointed out to him that it appeared to me that the embarrassment being experienced by the Government was partly its own responsibility. It was my impression that the Government had made no real attempt to clarify the situation for the public. For example, one of Baghdad's leading papers, Al-Iraq, had conveyed the distinct impression that the United States had begun a policy aimed toward depriving the Arabs of their rights in Palestine, in its lead editorial for March 1. Among the great number of articles carried by the Baghdad press the past few days hardly any had touched on the point that thus far the resolutions were nothing more than expressions of opinion on the part of the congressmen introducing them and were not connected with the United States Government's policy.

4. He/

4. He promised to talk over my remarks with the Prime Minister and to endeavor to find some means of clarifying the situation in the public mind.

5. Starting on March 1, these resolutions and Zionist activities in the United States have been the main discussion topics in the Iraqi press and among the people. As a result there is considerable feeling in some quarters against the United States and the local Jews. Yesterday, secondary school students wanted to demonstrate in front of the Legation but were refused permission by the Government. Some Jewish students were advised not to attend school yesterday owing to the danger that Arab students, for whom Friday is a holiday, would attack them en route.

6. The bazaars and coffee shops carry varying rumors regarding the true reasons in back of this agitation. As might be expected, some quarters tend to credit the British with stirring up feeling against the United States for the purpose of: (a) producing difficulties for the United States in exploiting its oil concessions faced with Arab hostility; or: (b) placing upon the United States the onus for such decision as Great Britain might make regarding Palestine which would be unpleasant to the Arab world. The Legation has been unable to find any substantiation for these rumors. However, the publication of these articles was permitted by the British censorship which controls the local press.

7. Those articles appearing today seem to indicate that the campaign is losing its anti-American flavor and veering towards agitation for Arab unity and Arab control for Palestine.

8. Our No. 48 dated today is a translation of the Iraqi Government's communique of March 1. Its tone is mild compared with those articles which have appeared in the press.

Henderson

st of business of
Washington on one meeting
and in accordance with

Cairo, March 6, 1946.

No. 1840.

Subject: The subject, memorandum on resolution
to Palestine Joint Congressional
Resolution by Representatives of
New Zionist Organization and Jewish
Agency.

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington.

Sir:

Referring to my telegram no. 511 of March
4, 1 p.m. reporting the delivery to the Legation
of a memorandum on the Joint Congressional Resolution
on Palestine by the local representative of the
Political Bureau of the New Zionist Organization
in Palestine and my telegram no. 586 of March 5,
8 p.m. making mention of the fact that a repre-
sentative of the Jewish Agency had also approach-
ed the Legation in connection with the matter, I have
the honor to transmit herewith copies of two
memoranda, the first being that of the New Zionist
Organization in the form in which it was presented
to the Legation and the second being an account
of a conversation of a member of the Legation
staff with M. R. Maslani of the Jewish Agency
in Jerusalem, who, after referring to the
resolution, also made certain observations on
the subject of Arab union, British policy in
respect of Palestine, and the reported settlement
of the Jewish-Arab union rift in Zionist ranks.

Sincerely yours,

Alexander Kirk

Enclosures as stated.

Copy to the American Consulate General at Jerusalem.
CC to the American Legation at Baghdad.
Copy to the American Legation at Beirut.
Copy to the American Legation at Jidda.

Sent to the Department in cable.
File no. 800.
BAH:q

840.1 - Zionism

Enclosure no. 1 to Despatch no. 1640 of March 6, 1944.

From the American Legation at Cairo, Egypt.

Memorandum Presented by Albert Staraselski,
Representing Dr. Altman, Director of Political
Bureau of New Zionist Organization, World Presi-
dency, in Palestine on March 4, 1944.

La démarche faite auprès du Gouvernement des Etats-Unis, pour protester contre une motion présentée au Congrès Américain en faveur du Foyer National Juif, nous paraît appeler la mise au point suivante:

1) L'Egypte est toujours membre de la Société des Nations. Elle en a accepté le Covenant dont le Mandat sur la Palestine fait partie intégrante. Logiquement, elle a pour mission, au même titre que les autres membres de la S.N.N., de protéger l'obligation faite à la Puissance mandataire de créer les conditions favorables à la réalisation du Foyer National Juif. En tous cas, elle est tenue, par l'usage constant du Droit international, à ne pas le combattre avant une modification éventuelle de cette convention garantie solennellement par l'ensemble des nations civilisées.

2) Par son traité d'alliance avec la Grande Bretagne, conclu en 1936, le Gouvernement du Caire a accepté la situation internationale créée par les engagements que le Gouvernement de Londres avait contractés antérieurement. En effet, l'article 5 de ce document stipule: "Chacune des Hautes Parties Contractantes prend l'engagement de ne pas tenir une attitude, ni conclure un traité politique incompatible avec les termes du présent traité". Cela comporte de toute évidence une réciprocité, à savoir que le traité d'alliance au moment de sa signature, était considéré comme ne contrevenant en rien aux "traités politiques" et aux "attitudes" de la Grande Bretagne avant cette époque.

Or il existe un traité en bonne et due forme, entre les Etats-Unis et la Grande Bretagne, dont l'objet principal est l'obligation faite à cette dernière, en sa qualité de Puissance mandataire, de veiller à la réalisation du Foyer National Juif. La nécessité de cette convention spéciale a découlé du fait que le Gouvernement de Washington n'était pas membre de la S.D.N. et qu'il entendait sauvegarder ainsi ses droits et ses vues relativement à la Palestine et à son développement. Ce traité anglo-américain, toujours en vigueur, fait partie intégrante, à notre avis, du statut international que l'Egypte a reconnu en 1936. Il est incontestable que la clause "rebus sic stantibus" s'applique dans ce cas, à propos de l'alliance de l'Egypte avec la Grande Bretagne et de tous les engagements souscrits par cette dernière, sur le plan de la politique internationale, avant son accord avec le Gouvernement du Caire. Cela est d'autant plus certain que le traité anglo-américain sur la Palestine constituait une mesure complémentaire du Covenant dont l'Egypte a assumé les devoirs simultanément avec les droits que son adhésion à la S.D.N. lui conférait.

3) Non seulement rien ne vient soutenir l'allégation du Gouvernement du Cairo, selon laquelle la réalisation du Foyer National Juif équivaudrait à "la persécution des populations palestiniennes formées de Musulmans, de Chrétiens et de Juifs", mais l'expérience du dernier quart de siècle a fait la démonstration contraire. Toutes les populations de la Palestine, les Musulmans et les Chrétiens aussi bien que les Juifs, ont bénéficié de la colonisation sioniste. Plus encore, de l'opinion de tous les experts qualifiés, le progrès du pays est en fonction de l'immigration que les Juifs seront autorisés à y acheminer.

D'autre part, la spécification de "Musulmans, Chrétiens et Juifs" semble indiquer une tendance à réduire le problème à un ajustement entre diverses communautés religieuses. Or le Mandat de la S.D.N. et le traité anglo-américain sur la Palestine parlant explicitement du "peuple Juif", de ses liens historiques et nationaux avec la Palestine, de ce qu'elle a déclaré Balfour - incorporée dans ces divers documents, - appelle les aspirations sionistes. Il serait contraire à la lettre comme à l'esprit desdites conventions de circonscrire la promesse faite au "peuple Juif" tout entier aux limites d'un règlement local avec la population juive de Palestine. La définition même des attributions de l'Agence Juive exclut une telle conception et frappe de nullité l'argument selon lequel le sort des "Israélites persécutés" doit être séparé des destinées de la Palestine. Cette thèse est d'autant moins admissible qu'il n'y a partiquement aujourd'hui aucun autre pays susceptible d'accueillir ceux d'entre eux qui réussiraient à sortir de l'Europe sous contrôle nazi. Dans ces conditions, la "condamnation du traitement barbare" infligé à ces "Israélites persécutés" demeure une simple formule singulièrement inopérante si, dans le même temps, ceux qui l'emploient prétendent fermer à ces "Israélites persécutés" l'accès de la Palestine, seul territoire qui peut et doit les recevoir.

4) La protestation de l'Egypte - ainsi que celles de l'Irak et du Liban, puis toutes les autres qui pourront suivre, - ne peut avoir d'autre effet que de présenter les Etats Unis comme hostiles à ce qu'on désigne sous l'étiquette de "revendications arabes". Or il n'y a pas plus de raison de s'élever contre la motion présentée au Congrès Américain qu'il n'y en aurait eu pour protester contre les déclarations, faites encore récemment aux Chambres des Lords et des Communes par les porte-parole du Colonial Office, affirmant que la Grande Bretagne reste fidèle au Mandat sur la Palestine et à l'obligation du Foyer National Juif qu'il comporte. Signalons que le Libre Blanc de 1939 lui-même, que les avocats des "revendications arabes" invoquent, établit expressément que le Foyer National Juif est un fait acquis, - indépendamment des divergences qui peuvent exister sur l'interprétation de cette motion.

Il est clair que les éléments qui sont à l'oeuvre contre le Foyer National Juif sont les mêmes qui voudraient empêcher la légitime influence des Etats-Unis de s'exercer dans le Moyen Orient. Par exemple, c'est une coïncidence remarquable que la campagne contre les sympathies des Etats-Unis à l'égard du Sionisme aille de pair avec l'opposition bruyante manifestée contre le projet américain de mise en valeur des régions

pétrolière restées en friche dans cette zone. La conjonction des facteurs en action n'est que trop visible.

Conscients de cette solidarité entre les justes intérêts des Etats-Unis et leur désir de faire oeuvre de civilisation dans le Moyen Orient, d'une part, et les aspirations sionistes que le Foyer National Juif doit concrétiser, d'autre part, nous gardons par ailleurs une foi inébranlable dans la fermeté du Gouvernement de Washington à ne pas laisser porter atteinte aux droits imprescriptibles du "peuple Juif" dont il s'est constitué le "trustee" par son traité avec la Grande Bretagne sur la Palestine.

1/3/44

Enclosure no. 1 to despatch no. 1640 of March 6, 1944
from the American Legation at Cairo, Egypt.

REMOVAL OF CONVERSATION

Date: March 6, 1944.

Subject: Recent developments affecting Palestine.

Participants: Mr. A. Maslani of the Jewish Agency in
Palestine.
Mr. Harp.

Being in Cairo on a visit, Mr. Maslani of the Jewish Agency for Palestine called in accordance with his custom in order to discuss current developments affecting Palestine. His remarks covered the following points:

1. Joint Congressional Resolution: Mr. Maslani observed that the Americans seemed to be in the same boat as the Jews of late in respect of being the objects of the displeasure of the Arabs as a result of the Joint Resolution regarding Palestine which had been introduced in Congress. That particularly struck him, he said, was the way in which the opposition to the resolution had up until now been organized, so well organized in fact that he found it difficult to believe that the various Arab authorities had acted entirely on their own initiative (clearly giving it to be understood that what he had in mind was the British influence had been created).

Maslani observed that it would also be interesting to know to what degree opposition to the resolution in official circles in Washington has been based on an estimate of the real facts of the case and to what degree it had been the result of the hue and cry raised by the Arabs. If the latter had been seriously taken into consideration it would, he felt, be a great mistake because it would serve to give the Arabs a false idea of their importance and result in the weakening of the position of the Allies in the Near East, a position which, because of circumstances arising out of the war, is now very strong and should, he felt, be so maintained in order that the Allied nations may be able when the time comes to dictate their decisions regarding this area rather than having to quibble and equivocate.

Maslani also referred to the making of the argument of security in Palestine as a reason for opposing the resolution and said he regarded such an argument as completely without foundation.

2. Arab Union: Mr. Maslani reiterated his previous doubts regarding the existence of any real basis for

Arab

Arab union and said that he was equally skeptical regarding the probability of success in forming a Greater Syrian Union, to the extent now of the strong traditions of the Jews in Palestine, and Christians in Lebanon and the position of the French in the Levant States.

Regarding the possibility of bringing the Arab and the Jews into the same line of Arab diseases and, he said he had heard of the proposal of bringing the Jewish National Council and the Arab League, a proposal in which he thought the British would make a great mistake to acquiesce. Because the only difference between these two was the Arab and Jewish 1-11-11-11 was that the latter is stronger to accept the British and the former has been caught before they get away. Naturally, he said, the Jews would not be slow in making use of this line of attack in case the British should consent to the proposal of Hussein and the Arab, and the use of the explanation that they were being brought to get the undivided attention, which the undivided was being needed, would constitute such a weak excuse that attack would be made the easier.

3. Attitude of Palestine: Mr. Haslam said that all indications pointed to the fact that the responsible British authorities in the Near East, headed by Lord Blyth, were thinking in terms of seeking a solution of the Palestine problem by offering the Jews a certain relaxation of the provisions of the White Paper in respect of immigration and land ownership and attempting to obtain Arab consent thereto by offering to substitute the plan for a Greater Syria, a compromise which was obviously inadequate from the Jewish point of view but which the British were attempting to exert pressure on them to accept by arguing that refusal would indicate an attitude of sheer obstructionism. In such British circles, said Haslam, the contention that "the Jews want the whole loaf" seemed to be the word of the day and he referred specifically to a recent conversation which he had had with Sir Walter Scott, Oriental Counselor of the British Embassy in Cairo, who had taken that line of argument.

4. Contrasted with this cautious spirit of compromise, said Haslam, all indications point to the fact that London realizes that the situation is one which cannot be settled by half measures and that the sweeping of the White Paper is inevitable in order to make way for a new immigration policy. Haslam added, however, that, although this general frame of thought appeared clear, no definite plan seems to have worked out as yet in its implementation.

5. Referring to the recent remarks by Ben Gurion of the Zion Executive of the Jewish Agency, Haslam remarked that the difficulty had originally arisen as the result of Ben Gurion's objection to Weizmann's taking action in important matters of policy in London without reference to the officials of the Executive in Palestine. This had been one of the matters which Ben Gurion had particularly commissioned Shertok to take up when he recently went to London and it now appeared that, thanks to Shertok's efforts, a reconciliation had been effected.

Baghdad, March 6, 1944.

No. 203

Subject: Agitation in the Iraqi Press Resulting
from Zionist Activities in the United States.

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to refer to my telegrams nos. 47 and 48 of March 4, 1944 regarding the agitation of the Iraqi press resulting from Zionist activities in the United States and particularly from the introduction of pro-Zionist resolutions in both Houses of Congress and to enclose herewith a translation of an official communiqué issued on March 1 by the Iraqi Director General of Propaganda and translations or summaries of translations of various articles appearing in the Iraqi newspapers on this subject during the last few days together with a list of all articles which have appeared indicating the extent of comment.

It is interesting to note that at the commencement of the press campaign, most of the local Arabic-language papers gave their readers the distinct impression that the United States was embarking upon a policy of depriving Arabs of their rights in Palestine. More recent articles however are beginning to make it clear that the introduction of the pro-Zionist resolutions does not mean that the American Government has decided upon any policy with regard to Palestine.

Respectfully yours,

True copy of
original
203

Loy W. Henderson

File no. 800
LWH/dob

Enclosures:

1. Translation of an Official Communiqué by the Iraqi Director General of Propaganda.
2. List of Arabic-speaking Newspapers of Baghdad which Carried Editorial Comment on the Question of Palestine.
3. Translation of an Article Appearing in Al-Iraq on March 1, 1944.
4. Translation of an Article Appearing in Saut Al-Ahali on March 1, 1944.

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5. Summary of a translation of an Article Appearing in Al-Iraq on March 2, 1944.
6. Summary of a Translation of an Article Appearing in Al-Bilad on March 2, 1944.
7. Translation of Two Short Articles Appearing in Saut Al-Sha'b and Al-Hawadith respectively on March 4, 1944.

To the Department in original.
Copies to:

American Legation, Cairo.
American Legation, Jidda.
American Legation, Beirut.
American Consulate General, Jerusalem.
American Legation, Damascus.

REF: 101 100, 101, 102,
March 1, 1944
Baghdad.

(Consultation)

OFFICIAL COMMUNIQUE

"The Iraq Government has been informed of the endeavors of Zionist propagandists in the United States of America in regard to the question of immigration into Palestine, with a view to obtaining support in the American Senate and Congress for a proposal to open the doors of immigration into Palestine for the Jews, in contravention of the British White Paper. The Iraq Government has taken all necessary steps to defeat those endeavors (which are based on an attempt to exploit public sympathy in America) and to enlighten public opinion about the real situation. Sayid Jamil al-Sidfi, President of the Senate, and Sayid Badha al-Shabibi, President of the Chamber of Deputies, have sent telegrams to the Chairman of the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee in America as well as to the American Senators who submitted the proposal, explaining the harmful repercussions and pointing out that it would transgress on the rights of the Arabs in Palestine. The Governments of Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Syria, and the Lebanon have taken similar action. These efforts have led to satisfactory results."

Director General of Propaganda.

List of Arabic-speaking newspapers of Baghdad which carried editorial comments on the question of Palestine.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Publication</u>	<u>Title of Editorial</u>	<u>Length in Lines</u>
March 1	AL-IRAQ	The Problem of Palestine is the Problem of Iraq and the Rest of the Arabic Countries	132
"	SAYT AL-AHALI	on the Government's official Notification. The Right of Arab Palestine for Self-Determination	237
Note: AL-RAI AL-AM; AL-BILAL; AL-AMMAN; AL-ASHBAB and SAYT AL-AHAB did not carry any editorial comments on the question of Palestine on March 1.			
March 2	AL-IRAQ	The Kibla of Arab Warriors	251
"	AL-ASHBAB	Arab Interest in the Palestinian Question	112
"	SAYT AL-AHALI	The Danger of Jewish Immigration into Palestine	100
"	AL-BILAL	The Right of Arab Palestine	103
"	AL-BILAL	The Arabs Awake to their Role. The Zionist Movement against Palestine contradicts United Nations Principles. The Necessity of Answering the Arabs with Joint Declarations	126
Note: AL-RAI AL-AM; AL-HAWATH and SAYT AL-AHAB did not carry editorial comment on the question of Palestine on March 2.			
March 3	AL-BILAL	Iraq and Palestine	124
"	AL-HAWATH	Palestine is an Integral Part of our Arab Nation	122
"	AL-AMMAN	The Question of Palestine and the Zionist Propagandists	77
Note: AL-RAI AL-AM; SAYT AL-AHAB; AL-IRAQ and SAYT AL-AHALI did not carry editorial comment on the question of Palestine on March 3.			

Source: Al-Iraq - March 1,
1944, Baghdad

(TRANSLATION)

THE PROBLEM OF PALESTINE IS THE PROBLEM OF IRAQ AND THE
REST OF THE ARABIC COUNTRIES

(A demonstration of this fact - and a comment
on statements made in the American Congress)

Yesterday, this newspaper published a newstitem dealing with the protest made by the Egyptian Government to the Government of the United States, with regard to statements addressed to a special committee of the (U.S.) Senate, concerning establishment of a Jewish State in Palestine.

The point most worthy of note in this case is the surprising suddenness with which America has startled the friendly public opinion of the Arabic world by this incident. Even more unusual in this case is the fact that this friendly state should attempt to deprive the Arabs of their rights in Palestine, at a time when she is known throughout the world as a nation which practices the principles of freedom, and is today fighting a catastrophic war in the defense of these principles. Moreover, America is one of the two great democratic nations which laid down the Atlantic Charter - that binding document which declares, in its second paragraph, that the signatories "do not desire to see territorial changes take place in a manner inconsistent with the freely expressed wills of the respective nations."

How can such a stipulation be made consistent with the idea of establishing a Zionist State in Palestine - a State, the establishment of which would contradict in every way the free desire of this Arab country, and would trample the rights of all Arabs living in neighboring countries? The charge which we refrain from making against our friend, America, is an undesirable one.

We are bewildered that such an act could be committed by America, the country whose Secretary of State, Mr. Cordell Hull, has publicly declared to have as one of its leading war aims the aim that "all nations which prove that they respect the ideas and ideals of other nations, and that they have the ability to carry out the responsibilities of freedom, are worthy of enjoying an independent existence."

The Arab countries, in their various nations, have sprung up to fight against despotism, in defense of those who struggle to safeguard the principles of freedom. Certainly they have been inspired to fight only by their love of these principles, and their desire to see that these privileges would be available to them as well as to others. The Arabs have been known throughout all the stages of history as one of the nations (sic) who have carried to the rest of the world the ideal of justice and equality, and

who have worshipped the concept of freedom and practiced it. They have contributed much toward building up the essential bases of human civilization.

If the American nation sings an anthem glorifying the part which American leaders have played in world history, in supporting the principles of freedom, in defending justice, and in abhorring despotism - and if this friendly nation quotes Abraham Lincoln's words in his historic oration at the cemetery of Gettysburg: "All men are created equal" - then it must be remembered that the Arabs have their share of eternal reminiscences; a share of which they may be equally proud. It was the Caliph Omar ibn Al-Khattab who once similarly said "How can you enslave the people when their mothers have borne them free?"

The Arab peoples are displeased to see their brother nation, in respect to love of freedom, the American people, siding with injustice in the case of Palestine at the same time that the reins of power in the United States are held by President Roosevelt - who would not submit to allow the old world be overwhelmed by the forces of darkness and who urged his own nation to enter the war and sacrifice everything dear and valuable, in the cause of the defense of freedom against aggressors.

The Arab people find it a heartbreaking business to forward their protests to the United States, their co-partners in the struggle for the freedom of individuals and communities, and their collaborators in the war against those States which have violated and degraded these rights.

The Arab nation, in feeling compelled to pursue such a course of action, is impelled by the imperative motive of the defense of its rights, and by a desire to protect a sacred area of the Arab countries against forced occupation by non-Arab elements. Meanwhile, this Nation feels confident that America, the friendly country, would never desert the spirit of friendship which links her to the millions of Arabs, simply to help the Zionists to fulfill their ambitions at the expense of the Arabs.

The Arabs know this well, as they also know that the Zionists' ambitions are contradictory to the text of Paragraph 3 of the Atlantic Charter, which stipulates that "Britain and America respect the rights of all nations to choose the kind of rule under which they prefer to live, and desire to see the rights of self-government returned to those from whom they were taken away."

Arabs in Palestine have never ceased, throughout the years following the first World War, in their struggle for the defense of their sovereignty and independence. It is not right, therefore, that these people should remain deprived of their liberty and threatened by providing, in their homeland, a State for another people, alien to their land.

These are not all of the aspects of the matter. The issue is not the concern of the Arab people in Palestine alone; it concerns the peoples of all the Arab countries. These people have been striving for this same cause for

the past twenty years, during which, more than once, cordial relations with their Allies have been embittered and disorder has prevailed in the Near East as the Zionists and their sympathizers have tried to violate Arab rights.

Today, while the Arab States are holding consultations on the issue of the Pan-Arab question, and while statements are being made by responsible men to the effect that no Union or Unity will be achieved without an independent and Arabian Palestine, the Arab World is confronted, from America, by a thing which would tend to make the Arabs suspect the reality of the declared war aims of this nation. It is not in the interest of the democratic nations or the United Nations to let such suspicions find their way into the minds of the people.

Iraq has been as interested in the cause of Palestine as she has been in her own, and has regarded Palestine as a paramount, integral part of the group of Arab countries, essential to their unity and for their future prominence in the international arena in which Iraq has performed so much. Thus, Iraq finds it a national duty to appeal to America not to depart from Right in her dealing with the Palestine question, and not to do an injustice to the Arab peoples in this case.

Meanwhile, Iraq demands that her British Ally put an end to the ordeals and disasters suffered by the Palestinian Arab peoples in their struggles for their proven rights in their own country. In addition, Iraq reminds her Allies that the Arab countries will never know rest and tranquility unless justice is given to the Palestinian Arabs - until the Arab people in Palestine have an independent status as have their brothers in other independent Arab countries.

We await a statement from our British Ally, clarifying her policy concerning Palestine; particularly at this time, when the term of the White Paper is approaching its end.

We expect the collaboration of the Arab states to save Palestine from Zionist plottings. This collaboration should not be less than it was in the case of our Lebanese sister.

Subject: Lawt al-Ahali
March 1, 1944
Baghdad

(Translation)

ON THE GOVERNMENT'S OFFICIAL NOTIFICATION.
THE RIGHT OF ARAB PALESTINE FOREIGN-IMMIGRATION

We publish, in another section of this issue, an official notification received from the Directorate General of Propaganda containing the Iraqi Government's protests against the attempts of advocates of Zionism in the United States of America for supporting a proposal to open the doors of Jewish immigration to Palestine; the action which the Governments of Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Syria, and the Lebanon have taken as has Iraq; and the despatch by the President of the Senate and the President of the Chamber of Deputies of two telegrams in this sense, all of which the reader may find in the official notification.

The attempts of pro-Zionism in the United States Senate and the House of Representatives remind us of the painful stages through which the cause of Palestine, the Arab brother state, has passed since the issuance of the Balfour Declaration up to the present time. Indeed, this Declaration has since its issuance become a turning-point, which turned the peace and security of Palestine into trouble and rebellion. Both the Arab and the Jewish peoples who have lived hundreds of years in Palestine and in all the Arab states in peace and security, have become two rival enemies. How could they be otherwise, when this Declaration is based on the principle of driving the Arabs from their soil and homeland so that they be replaced by a people collected from all over the world and so that the doors of immigration may be flung wide open for a people for whom a national home is desired to be established. Palestine's Jewish minority would thus become a majority and the Arab majority a minority.

The Arab people with their conferences, parties, blocs, press, state officials, thinkers and with all their sons have condemned Zionism and its aims and have expressed their indignation at its realization. However, we do not, in this article, wish to quote any testimony from Arab writers. The proof would be stronger and more forcible if it came from a third party.

The King-Crane Commission report of August 28, 1919 states:

"No Jewish state could be erected in Palestine without the gravest trespass upon the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine. The fact came out repeatedly in the Commissioners' conferences with Jewish representatives, that the Zionists looked forward to a practically complete dispossession of the present non-Jewish

inhabitants

inhabitants of Palestine, by various forms of purchase.

"In his address of July 4, 1918, President Wilson laid down the following principle as one of the four great 'ends for which the associated peoples of the world were fighting': 'The settlement of every question, whether of territory, of sovereignty, of economic arrangement, or of political relationship upon the basis of the free acceptance of that settlement by the people immediately concerned, and not upon the basis of the material interest or advantages of any other nation or people which may desire a different settlement for the sake of its own exterior influence or mastery.' If that principle is to rule, and so the wishes of Palestine's population are to be decisive as to what is to be done with Palestine then it is to be remembered that the non-Jewish population of Palestine - nearly nine-tenths of the whole - are emphatically against the entire Zionist programme. There was no one thing upon which the population of Palestine were more agreed than upon this. To subject a people so minded to unlimited Jewish immigration, and to steady financial and social pressure to surrender the land, would be a gross violation of the principle just quoted, and of the people's rights, though it kept within the forms of law."

The following occurs in another part of the same report:

"The Peace Conference should not shut its eyes to the fact that the anti-Zionist feeling in Palestine and Syria is intense and not lightly to be flouted. No British officer, consulted by the Commissioners, believed that the Zionist programme could be carried out except by force of arms. The officers generally thought that a force of not less than 50,000 soldiers would be required even to initiate the programme. That of itself is evidence of a strong sense of the injustice of the Zionist programme, on the part of the non-Jewish population. Decisions requiring armies to carry out are sometimes necessary, but they are surely not gratuitously to be taken in the interests of serious injustice. For the initial claim, often submitted by Zionist representatives that they have a right to Palestine, based on an occupation of 2,000 years ago, can hardly be seriously considered."

The contents of these reports have come true. The application of this promise proceeded - supported by bayonets and upheld by force.

The report of the Royal Commission delegated to Palestine after the 1936 rebellion states:

"Arab resistance to the policy of a national home for the Jews has not lost momentum. This actually was evident during the first years of the initial two rebellions. It was noted that such rebellions should break out from time to time until 1936. Despite the presence of British troops in the country, grave disturbances occurred in Jerusalem during 1920.....Other disturbances arose in May 1921.....In August 1929, dangerous disturbances flared up.....These disturbances

and the attendant investigations and researches revealed the difficulties encountered in implementing the mandate. Grave disturbances took place throughout Palestine since October, 1923. Thus another chapter has been written in the history of Palestine in the shadow of the mandate with letters of blood.... The national home continued thriving in this disturbed atmosphere.....The 1938 disturbances were a repetition of previous incidents but with increased intensity and wider scope.

Zionism is borne of a racial craziness which is not based on sound principles. The nineteenth century witnessed in Europe national movements in many countries. These movements inspired the European Jews to have, like others, a national home. This craziness was nourished and sustained by the antagonism of Eastern Europe against them and by animosity in other parts of the Continent. This direction was further encouraged by reactionary Jews who feared that the disintegration of their religion might prejudice their economic and financial interests. They were backed by capitalist ambition and international imperialistic interests.

The establishment of this national home on the soil, and at the expense of, others, particularly in the case of Palestine, violates Arab rights. Moreover, a Jewish national home could not be realized in that part of the globe which could absorb only a small fraction of the world's Jewry, the majority of whom would have to remain in their present places, thus unnecessarily arousing the animosity of the entire Arab people against those in Palestine. The solution, therefore, is in saving the world from the evils of Fascism, Nazism, and the spirit of aggression, and in delivering mankind from oppression and despotism so that relations between one people and another might be built on a spirit of justice and equality.

We have never opposed any race or nationalism. We, in fact, resist the exploitation by any race and nationalism of another race and nationalism, whatever form such exploitation, coercion or oppression may take. We therefore consider the realization of Zionism as a reactionary movement - a racial movement at the expense of the Arab people - a movement that does not aim at benefitting the Jewish people themselves, springing as it does from capitalism which imposes its will by force for the exploitation of another people under the pretext of safeguarding the interests of the Jewish people. In fact, the welfare of the various Jewish communities need tranquil relations with the rest of the other peoples with whom they live under the protection of democratic liberties.

Since its issuance, the Balfour Declaration has created a big problem which is still unsolved, despite delegations, commissions, and reports, and despite the British Government's desire to lessen the severity of the original form of the Jewish national home and the evolution of the matter in the form guaranteed by the White Paper. The Arab people and the Arabs of Palestine do not countenance the solutions offered by the White Paper because they find that they do not realize their just aspirations and national demands. If we grant the Arabs of Palestine their natural right - who

form the majority of that country's population and who, despite the continued immigration still constitute its overwhelming majority and who still own most of its lands despite Jewish recourse to lure the Arabs by various ways and means to sell their lands, if we look at the question from this angle and grant the Arabs their natural right by the application of a declaration issued under the political circumstances and crises of the last world war, we would find that the solution lies in the abandonment of the establishment of a Jewish national home in Palestine.

Today, the world is divided into two camps. The first is the camp of aggression, tyranny, and oppression against the peoples and nations, and usurpation of their lawful rights. The second camp defends world freedom, and the rights of nations for self-determination. The Arabs have adhered to the camp of freedom, being motivated by their national aims, by their present and future interests and because their future freedom and independence are bound with the nations that are now fighting for world freedom. It is therefore not becoming for the Allies of the Arabs and for the two great powers whose leaders issued the Atlantic Charter guaranteeing the rights of every people for self-determination, to waste the rights of Arab Palestine, like the other powers. Otherwise, this important Charter, on which the peoples build high hopes for their future existence, would lose its value and the peoples would consequently lose their confidence in promises and declarations, while the war is still being fought for saving the world from the evils of tyranny and despotism.

The Arabs are still participating as much as possible in the war effort side by side with the United Nations. The Allies should therefore allay and not aggravate Arab fears by the activities of certain parties concerned in America, which are referred to in the official notification.

The Arabs request the issuance of a joint declaration by the Allied powers concerning the inclusion of Palestine in the Atlantic Charter. Otherwise, Arab fears about this part of their nation would not be allayed. This is the natural solution for this problem, which is still unsolved.

Tr: JNC

Editor: Al-Hind
March 2, 1944
Baghdad.

(Continued Translation)

THE KIBLA (111) OF ARAB AND ISRAEL.

The principal aim of the Arabs, this editorial asserts, is the salvation of Palestine. Having expatiated on that country's fears and hopes, the editorial expresses surprise that "at a time when the Arabs are awaiting Britain to proclaim the independence of Palestine under the name of Greater Palestine.....the ether carries to us a disappointing echo from the Western Hemisphere, which echo has stirred and roused the Arab world and almost harmed the existing Arab-American friendship."

The editorial then reviews with great detail the steps which the various Arab governments have taken in the matter, and declares "All we could gather from these statements is that a group of Zionists in America are attempting, with all the influence they can muster, to urge the American people do things incompatible with their love for freedom and independence and their hate for aggression and despotism."

It then invites the attention of the American people to the report of Mr. Charles Crane, President of the American Delegation of the International Commission which the Peace Conference assigned to study Arab demands, and quotes pertinent detailed extracts from that report.

"Britain", the editorial continues, "is our Ally. Therefore, here is the final word. Let her then fulfill our expectations of her and let her remember that we the Arabs are her faithful allies and loyal and grateful friends. She has tried us and is therefore confident in what we say. We should also not forget to address Arab leaders in Iraq and elsewhere by reminding them - there is no harm if Britain hears this also - that the enemies of the Anglo-Arab understanding say that Britain wishes to exploit this agitation in order to obtain the approval of the Arab states of the policy provided in the White Paper, after their representatives had unanimously refused to adopt that policy in 1939, which was also refused by the Jews themselves. Let the Arabs therefore be aware of such allegations and let them act in unison with their ally to refute these allegations. Our ally will undoubtedly refute the statement made by the Zionist member of the House of Representatives that the protests are inspired by the British Colonial Office."

SOURCE: AL-HILAL
March 2, 1944
Baghdad.

(AL-HILAL TRANSLATION.)

THE RIGHT OF ARAB PALESTINE.

"It is strange" al-Hilal writes editorially under the above headline on the reported proposal which American Senators have submitted to the American Senate for continued Jewish immigration into Palestine, "that such exceptional statements emanate from members of the American Congress who have constantly averred the right, freedom, and independence of the nations and their liberty to enjoy the form of rule they chose for themselves. American statesmen have often declared that they will not interfere with the affairs of others and that they have participated in this war to maintain world freedom."

The paper then quotes Article 3 of the Atlantic Charter, asks the Senators concerned whether under that Article a Jewish home in Palestine is feasible, and wonders whether the American Senators realize that Palestine is an Arab state with Arab inhabitants who wish to have an Arab government of their own choosing, as proclaimed more than once and attested by all the Arab and Islamic peoples."

Referring to the Arab federation consultations which have recently been under way in Egypt by Arab representatives, the paper recalls the fact that "while busily engaged in their consultations, the Arab leaders did not forget the question of Palestine and to consider it as one of the principal aims in the realization of the proposed Arab federation because Palestine is an integral part of the Arab nation. Any federation that does not consummate the independence of Palestine or her adherence thereto, would therefore not be acceptable to the Arab peoples."

The paper also declares that the British press favors the Arab desire for changing the present status of Palestine. That press has been urging its government to take positive steps in that direction, it adds. This is given color by a despatch from the London correspondent of AL-HILAL of Egypt in which he reported, the paper continues, that the British Government was giving its attention to the question of Palestine. It was awaiting an early opportunity to realize Arab hopes for the establishment of an Arab government in Palestine that would not contradict its pledges to the Jews of Palestine. Declarations made by British leaders and politicians herald an early attainment of these hopes and the creation of an independent Arab state in Palestine."

"The American press," the same Egyptian correspondent is quoted to have reported to his paper "has commented on British press reports of an early settlement of the

Palestinian

Palestinian question, that the United States of America will not interfere with this question and that no official statement will be forthcoming on the subject. But America wishes the solution of the problem because of her desire to win the friendship of the Arab world which is participating with her in this struggle of blood, steel, and fire.

"These statements and reports have reassured the Arabs" -- still continues "but the attitude of the Zionist propagandists in the American Senate has come as an unpleasant surprise to Palestine and to the Arab people. It aroused the feelings, created doubt in all charters, pledges, and declarations, and caused the Arab governments to lodge protests against these exceptional utterances.....the Arab governments should therefore not only protest. They must do their utmost to make those who favor the establishment of a Jewish national home in Palestine understand that Palestine is Arab, shall remain Arab and that her government shall be Arab, as have been proved by documents and events. The Arab leaders must, moreover, ask the American and the British governments to remove the bad effect of such statements by issuing a clear and definite statement on the matter, so that similar Senators and reactionary politicians will have no cause for making statements which will leave painful effects in the Arab world."

March 7, 1944
Baghdad.

(CONFIDENTIAL)

ON THE QUESTION OF PALESTINE.

A well-informed politician has informed us that President Roosevelt and his son have not yet announced their views on the question of Palestine because the statements of certain congressmen on the subject are considered as personal utterances that do not express the American government's viewpoint.

The same source also told us that this should not, nevertheless, prevent the Arabs from expressing their condemnation against any move aimed at denying Arab rights and prejudicing their existence.

Source: HAIT AL- HA'B
March 4, 1944
Baghdad.

(CONFIDENTIAL)

ESTABLISHMENT OF A JEWISH NATIONAL HOME IN PALESTINE
IS PROPOSED BY TWO OR THREE CONGRESSMEN.

Cairo, March 3, 1944 - Al-Hayat (leading Egyptian daily) reports that it is learned from well-informed American circles in the Middle East, that the proposal which has been presented to the American Senate for the establishment of a Jewish home in Palestine does not represent the viewpoint of the American Government and that the whole matter is no more than an ordinary congressional proposal made by two or three congressmen. The reason for the proposal is propaganda for themselves among a community of electors on the occasion of the approaching elections.

Tr: JNC

Department of State

March 8, 1941

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Clear

Legation

Press continuing feature Palestine question including mention reported Stimson Marshall objection to Congressional resolution; exchanges of correspondence of Amir Abdallah with Ibn Saud, Imam Yehya and Iraqi Regent; published statements by Azzam Bey and Allouba Pasha; Smuts statement and reported informal protests thereto by Egyptian Prime Minister and Ibad Abaza Pasha; publication of protest to President Roosevelt addressed this Legation by Madame Noda Shaurawi, President Egyptian Women's Union; erroneous report in today's press that reply to Egyptian Government transmitted by me to Prime Minister yesterday; references to protests received by press from Moslem organizations such as Azhar students and Moslem Brethren; news of similar developments in other Arab countries.

Editorial comment has appeared in March 8 Al-Balagh which, after expressing conviction that resolution not representative American policy and that incident probably temporarily closed following War Department intervention and collective protests of Arab states, pointed out danger of raising such contentious issue since would contravene Allied military interests, complicate task of British as responsible authorities in Palestine, and appear to constitute counter-attack on Arab union movement in which Egypt taking lead. March 6 Al-Mokattam observed that Smuts and American Congressmen had apparently forgotten Atlantic Charter in disregarding Arab rights in Palestine and that although no objection to Jewish spiritual home in Palestine impossible to use that country as refuge for persecuted Jews of Europe without creating new problems of persecuted Arabs. March 7 Al-Nadwa maintained

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tained it not anti-Jewish or pro-Nazi and sympathetic with Jewish sufferings but opposed Jewish policy of infiltrating into Palestine and then suddenly claiming country as their own. Asked why refuge could not be found elsewhere.

Mailed to Jerusalem, Beirut, Baghdad, and Jidda.

K.L.D.

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CA
Cairo, March 9, 1944.

No. 1651.

Subject: Transmitting Newspaper Comment
Regarding Congressional Resolution
in Respect of Palestine.

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington.

Sir:

Referring to my telegram no. 555, March 8, 1944 and previous, reporting the reaction of the Egyptian press to reports of the introduction of the Joint Congressional Resolution in respect of Palestine, I have the honor to transmit herewith translations of editorials in Al-Balagh of March 2, 4 and 5; Al-Mokattam of March 6; and Al-Wafd Al-Misri of March 7, together with translations of two articles on the subject which appeared in Al-Ahram of March 3 and 7 over the signatures of Abdur Rahman Azzam Bey and Mohamed Aly Kilouba Pasha, two of the most prominent and respected Arab nationalists in Egypt.

Respectfully yours,

Alexander Kirk

Inclosures as stated.

Copy to the American Legation at Baghdad.
Copy to the American Legation at Beirut.
Copy to the American Legation at Jidda.
Copy to the American Consulate General at Jerusalem.

Sent to the Department in Cairo.
File no. 800.
HMH/rq

A true copy
of the signed
original.

840.1 - Palestine

Enclosure no. 1 to Despatch no. 1651 of March 9, 1944

From the American Legation at Cairo, Egypt

Al Balagh of March 2, 1944

Egypt Defends the Arabs of Palestine

Egypt has sent a memorandum to the American Government regarding a bill said to have been submitted by some American representatives tending to create a Jewish National Home in Palestine. The Egyptian Government's memorandum has not been published yet, but what has been known of it enables us to understand the gist of the whole matter, viz., that Egypt protests once more against the American project - that of creating a Jewish National Home in Palestine and considers such an attempt as persecution directed against the people of Palestine, the rightful owners of the country. Logic demands that persecution against a people should not be parried by persecution directed against another people.

It seems that some independent Arab States such as Lebanon and Iraq, have followed Egypt's example and have protested against the American project. We do not intend at present to deal with the subject at length, because the Egyptian memorandum has not been published yet, but this should not prevent us from making the following hurried remarks to our readers and to those concerned with the Arab and Palestinian questions.

The first is that Mustapha El Nahas Pasha is alert to everything that concerns the Arab world. The fact that he has sent a memorandum to the American Government indicates that he was alert to what the American House of Representatives intended to do, which would have been prejudicial to the Arabs of Palestine. By forestalling the American action he made Egypt's point of view clear, and put before the American people Egypt's protestation against an attempt to prejudice the rights of the Arabs of Palestine; and America, it will be remembered, was one of the two parties that laid down and signed the Atlantic Charter.

The responsibilities which weigh heavily on Nahas Pasha have not prevented him from attending to this question. The leader of the Wafd is known to all Arabs as one who fights for them and espouses their cause.

No sooner had he become aware of the new orientation of politics in America, than he hastened to send a memorandum to the American Government, defending the Arabs of Palestine, the first and last rightful owners of the country.

The second remark is that, by sending its memorandum to the American Government the Egyptian Government has strengthened and backed Arab collaboration and cooperation. We see for the second time that the collaboration of Arab

countries

countries has had its plausible results. The first time was when Egypt and her Arab sisters stood in defence of Lebanon. ...In fact, the good that results from Arab collaboration needs no proof. Events which succeed each other quickly prove that that collaboration is essential for the success of every Arab case and Arab cases are numerous because the Arab spirit is evolving.

Al Balagh of March 4, 1944

American Senate and Question of Palestine

The resolution submitted by Mr. Wagner to the American Senate for the establishment of a Jewish National Home in Palestine has created a great sensation, especially in Arab countries which insist that Palestine belongs to its Arab owners and not to those who covet its possession. It seems that Senator Wagner's circumscription lies in New York city in a zone where the majority of the Jewish community resides. It may therefore be safe to say that Mr. Wagner represents the Jews in the American Senate, and this makes it natural that he should submit the above resolution to the Foreign Relations Committee at a time when the elections are at hand.

We have been informed, however, that this does not mean that the American Government has anything to do with the resolution which the Senate has already referred to the Foreign Relations Committee for report. The Senate will not be bound by this report; it may adopt the resolution or reject it.

But even if it adopts it, it will not be more than a recommended resolution or a mere desire submitted by one of the two houses which constitute the Congress. In fact, the foreign policy of the United States Government is prescribed by the Executive authority, and the resolutions of the Legislative authority are not binding. The State Department may accept or reject them.

We have asked well informed American circles in the Middle East whether the State Department intended to issue a statement regarding this question and we have been told that there is little possibility that such a statement should be issued but that the Government will surely express its frank opinion if the Senate adopts the resolution. No date, however, has been fixed for a debate on the matter because the Foreign Relations Committee has not yet completed its study of the resolution.

The above mentioned American circles have also affirmed that the international policy of the United States Government has been definitely traced out by Mr. Cordell Hull's speech of September 12, 1943.

Al Balagh of March 5, 1944

American Proposal Regarding Palestine Stopped
Factors That Brought This Result.

We have yesterday explained the real importance of the proposal which was submitted by a member of the American Senate for the lifting of the restrictions on the Zionist emigration to Palestine and support for the establishment of a Zionist National Home there, and we said that it had no connection with the policy of the U.S. Government, and that it do go beyond being a proposition submitted by one Senate's members.

News have been later received that the Senate's Foreign Affairs Committee stopped the discussions on this proposal on its own initiative and that the American Secretary for War wrote to one of the members asking him to do the necessary for the rejection of the proposal. Further it also stated that General Marshall, Chief of Staff of the American Forces supports the War Secretary in his demand, as it will excite Arab feeling and disturb the situation in the Middle East.

It may now be considered that this incident is closed for the present time. This rapid result, due to the collective protest of all the Arab countries will prove a source of satisfaction, more especially to Egypt which lead the defense of Arab rights in Palestine and the protest against this new Zionist attempt. This will also be the case in Great Britain who is primarily responsible for the maintenance of order in Palestine, as it is certainly not to her liking or in her interest and the interest of her Allies, nor will it strengthen her good relations with the Arab countries that this question, which she has on several occasions tried to solve and was unable to more than provisionally settle with the White Paper, be now reopened.

It is natural to assume that the decision taken by the Committee to stop the discussion of the American Senator's proposal, the American War Secretary's demand for its rejection and the Chief of Staff of the American Forces confirmation of the latter's demand, cannot be considered by any means a definite solution to this problem, and that it is only a provisional avoidance from a critical and complicated question, the opening of which more especially in the present circumstances would lead to difficulties which nefarious consequences for the Allies military interests.

Further, it is apparent that Zionism persists in its idea of creating the National Home in Palestine and is using all its resources towards this end, and these are many, and against which the Arab countries cannot offer but their solidarity in the defense, co-operation and the seizing of all opportunities which are made available every now and then.

We made it clear, yesterday, that the American Senator's proposal came as a result to Zionist activity and that Zionism tried to annul the British White Paper, issued by the British Government in which it remedied the situation provisionally preliminarily after the Palestine conference in London failed in 1938.

It looks also as if this renewed Zionist activity in America is in reply to the consultations on Arab Unity which are nearing their end preliminary to their entering into a further stage. Arab countries have realized this fully as was shown by their immediate rise to protest strongly and announce their will to cooperate in their defense against this and similar aggressions. And it is a cause of satisfaction for us, Egyptians, that our Government proceeded governments of other countries in protesting in this question, as it is a further proof our government's keen interest and devotion to the Arab cause and its efforts in realizing Arab Unity as well as the creation of a form of Union which will guarantee the collective and individual interests of each.

This is the second incident in which the solidarity between the Arab Nations has been shown in defense of one of its member's rights. The first being the events in Lebanon, Arab countries were able to reap quickly the fruit of their unity in connection with the aggression against its members. The next concerned Palestine and it has given the Arab countries the opportunity of showing the extent of their solidarity and the result in both cases was the same namely: the elimination of the cause which brought about Arab nations anger and lead them to protest.

There is no doubt however that the war situation was an undeniable important factor to the rapid result obtained in both cases. The danger to the Allied military interests from possible disturbances did not leave time for hesitation in remedying the situation, and had it not been for these circumstances, it was possible that more time would have been taken for discussions on the matter.

War will end one of these days, no matter how long its duration may be, which will be followed by a period of calm and inertia in peace time. It is therefore preferable for Arab countries to seize this present opportunity for a persistent effort to solve the Palestine problem and others which confront Arab Unity or the individual interests of each. We do not ignore that proper solution may not be available for various reasons connected with the war and its many necessities, but we believe nevertheless that it is possible to arrive to general satisfactory agreements pending the termination of the war.

It is within the power of the Arab countries to promote new projects which others cannot interfere in - such as new industries or their expansion - and which it may be feared Zionists in Palestine will precede them in establishing in order to monopolize the markets of the Middle East and thereby control their economic life, as notwithstanding their small numbers, they are more active, have greater knowledge and possess greater financial and technical means. Nevertheless, Arab between themselves are not unable to repel this danger avoid this domination full of fearful consequences.

Al Fokattam of March 6, 1944

Atlantic Charter and Palestine

Some members of the American Senate seem to think that the Atlantic Charter was a pledge only given by Churchill and Roosevelt and that when these two men disappear the Charter would lose its value.

This is an error, for the Charter has been signed by 27 governments including the British Empire, America, Egypt and Iraq. In its essence the Charter is a death-blow to colonization, and yet Marshal Smutts, and some American Representatives and Senators want to make Palestine a Jewish colony, forgetting that the Allies are fighting Germany to prevent her from realizing the theory of the "vital space" or the colonization of Eastern Europe.

The Jews' desire to settle in Palestine is based on two considerations of which one is spiritual and the other material. The first makes them yearn for the land of their inspiration, of their religion, and of their temple. It is a natural yearning, but it may be satisfied by the creation of a National Spiritual Home in Palestine of which the present Jewish University in Jerusalem and the social, agricultural, and religious centres in Palestine are the component parts.

The second or material consideration is the necessity of saving Jews who are victims of persecution in Nazi occupied Europe and transporting them to a safe place. We believe that there is no human individual in the whole world who does not sympathize with the victims of such persecution. But Palestine is too small to contain them all; and in America, Great Britain, and South Africa there are Jews who are living quietly and comfortably. Marshal Smutts, America and Australia can give shelter to the persecuted Jews..... But the expelling of the Arabs of Palestine in order to give their country to the Jews does not solve the problem. It creates a new problem - that of persecuted Arabs.

The protestations of Arab countries are conclusive evidence that the peoples of the Middle East refuse to see Palestine occupied by any but its rightful owners.

Al Wafd Al Misri of March 7, 1944

The Jews

We hope that when we write about Palestine we are not misunderstood. The fact is, we are neither anti-Jewish nor pro-Nazi. But Jews must distinguish between sentiment and interest. Had Palestine been a Jewish State and had a foreign Power tried to evict the Jews from it, would the Jews have remained quiet and would they have submitted? Or would they have done everything in their power to defend their country?

The

The sufferings to which the Jews have been submitted grieve us a lot. They are beyond all description, and the Jews know that for fourteen centuries they lived peacefully with Moslems who treated them on an equal footing with themselves. Indeed, Moslems manifested so much tolerance towards them that the Jews could not but collaborate loyally and sincerely with them. Every fair-minded Jew avows this and testifies to it.

Now Jews who believe that they are God's chosen people have not adopted a wise policy. They want to create a Jewish state, and they should have endeavoured to do so quietly and silently. They should have entered into some country without making noise and should have spent money in it secretly until they could possess it without creating disturbance. This done, they could have openly declared that that country had become their own.

To be sure, in South Africa, America, Brazil, and the Argentine Republic there are vast areas which can house a population tens of times greater than that of the Jews in the world. Why don't the Jews try to occupy those regions? Surely they can do so, and once having occupied them they can proclaim them a Jewish State.

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Enclosure no. 2 to Despatch no. 1651 of March 9, 1944

From the American Legation at Cairo, Egypt.

Al Ahram of March 3, 1944

An Aspect of Arab Policy

By Abdul Rahman Bey Azzam, a Former Minister
of Social Affairs and Wakfs and an Expert
on Arab Affairs.

Agency telegrams and foreign broadcasting stations have referred to renewed efforts on the part of Zionists in the American House of Representatives and the Senate to obtain something similar to the Balfour promise from the United States. Just as Zionists entangled some of the British statesmen in the last war in a declaration from the effects of which British policy has suffered so much, they have succeeded in drawing the U.S. Government in an identical mess in this war.

However, and fortunately for American statesmen, they have before them the hard example of Britain. It is also fortunate that the general wakefulness of the Arab World and the existence of independent Arab countries and other semi-independent, provokes the raising of their voices in protest and warning. The efforts of the governments of Egypt, Iraq and Saudi Arabia have had a satisfactory result in eliminating the effect of such intrigues in the past year.

Nevertheless the Zionist activity which began in the last century has not abated and will not cease before the praiseworthy efforts made periodically by the Arab countries. It is therefore necessary for the Arab countries to establish a definite and permanent policy to meet this danger of a policy which was defined and outlined in the basic aims and aspirations of the Zionists on Palestine the objects of which were made clear in a manner which left no doubt whatever, and appeared to the whole world in its nakedness at the London Conference in 1939. - Zionists refused to accept anything but the realization of the two following objectives:

a. That the whole of Palestine should become their National Home and that Jews should form the greater majority of the population.

b. That they should have an Independent Jewish state. Any solution proposed for the solution of this problem that would not insure these two objectives, was categorically refused by the Zionists at the London Conference.

For this purpose, Arab policy is based on preserving the absolute Arab majority in Palestine and to keep Palestine under no matter what rule within the Arab circle.

The

The Palestine conference in London failed after two months of discussions through the conflict between the Zionist and Arab policies, and there was no way for Great Britain which had called Arabs and Jews to come to an understanding, but to find a provisional solution and a temporary moderate policy was formulated in the White Paper issued after the termination of the conference, which did not deprive the Jews from the advantages of the Balfour declaration and the mandate and neither making them despair of a National Home in Palestine, limited in scope, and at the same time reassured the Arabs of their preserving their majority in the Country as well as to the future of an independent Palestinian State. It set a term to Jewish immigration and organized land ownership and sale and purchase, in a manner which if it did not provoke Arab anger, nevertheless did not satisfy Zionist appetites.

In accordance with the White Paper, the doors to Jewish immigration will be definitely closed as from next May.

Arabs are still convinced that the British government is absolutely earnest in applying the policy it has engaged itself to in this connection. However, Zionists have not despaired yet and their activities in America and Great Britain are resumed periodically.

"Al Ahram" has pointed out lately to the praiseworthy action which was taken by the Egyptian Government and the governments of other Arab countries as well as their Chambers of Deputies and the Iraqi Senate. This practical action on the part of Arab authorities is a true reflection of the policy desired by all Arab peoples in the East and the West, and on these peoples fall duties towards Palestine which are not ended by their Government's action, as it is the duty of these peoples to watch over the fate of Palestine and that the struggle for the national destiny of this country may yet extend tens of years. Therefore a permanent policy is a necessity and this policy should be aimed to one objective essential to Arabs, namely the retention of their majority and the prevention of Zionists obtaining a numerical and technical superiority over Arabs in Palestine, as if the "White Paper" has laid down the basis of agricultural land ownership which has not been accepted by the Arabs, it did not limit the scope of industrial ownership.

If agricultural Palestine can provide for half a million Zionist a suitable standard of life, industrial Palestine which relies on the other Arab and Islamic countries as market for its product, and will become with the establishment of industries the financial market of the Middle East, and be able to draw millions of Zionists, notwithstanding the exiguity of the Homeland. The exiguity of the Homeland. The world's great cities count their population in millions, and some exceed the 10 million mark, when they became centres of finance, industry and trade. This is a danger which Palestine is menaced with in the first instance and the rest of the Arab countries subsequently, because their new industries will be confronted with a deadly competition which will prevent them enjoying the advantages of trade and industry which are the stepping stones to civilization and progress and the raising of the standard of life to which they now all forward to.

It is therefore not sufficient for Arabs to content themselves with preventing America from entangling itself in a new promise to Zionism or demanding from Great Britain to limit definitely the scope of the Balfour declaration and give the Arabs their chance.

This will not be an adequate enough guarantee in an unsettled world and an unknown future. The real guarantee of the Arabs future lies in their competition to Jewish industry which is established or will be established in Palestine and which the continuance of the war is aiding. It is therefore their duty to create similar industries in other Arab countries and give fully protection of industry and agriculture that are already existent.

The Arabs should not forget in the turmoil of this war and the necessities created by it, their national policy, as the practical policy which is based on economic realities and which will protect the Arabs from Zionist numerical and technical superiority is the only finally safe policy.

In view of the fact that this policy is negative in its nature, it is consequently easy, and permanently supported by all classes. It is also defensive and not aggressive, practical and not tied up to international developments in the situation or to changed circumstances.

Abdul Rahman Azzam.

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Enclosure no. 3 to Despatch no. 1651 of March 9, 1944

From the American Legation at Cairo, Egypt.

Al Ahram of March 7, 1944

The Jewish National Home.

There is no doubt whatever that the latest movement initiated by the Zionists in the United States through the proposal submitted to the American Congress for the establishment of a Jewish National Home in Palestine has provoked surprise and pain among the Arabs without distinction of opinion or religion, and it has caused pain to Muslims all over the world.

Those who have followed the Zionist movement since its inception believe that it tends to consider the Jewish National Home as a Jewish State in its widest conception, in other words, Zionists wish to amputate a sacred Arab province from the body of the Arab Union.

It is indeed regrettable that such efforts should be made at a time when the partisans of Democracy are preaching the principles of justice and freedom. I have nevertheless great hopes that the Allied Nations will refuse to disown the lofty principles for which they entered this war from which the whole world is today suffering.

Arab governments and bodies have protested against this tyrannical action in a manner which has proved the complete unity of the Arab nations in their aims and aspirations. However, what I wish to draw attention to is the fact that the unity of these Nations cannot be accomplished if they ignore Palestine. A great number of conferences have been held in this connection, particularly the Parliamentary Conference of the Arab and Islamic Countries, in which the leaders of these countries have decided that aggression against Palestine is aggression against all of them, and that the existence of a Jewish State in the heart of the Arab countries is a danger to their political and economic life.

If the Arab countries today take up the defense of Palestine, they are not simply moved by sentiment or racial affinities, but they are defending their own existence as well. The existence of a Jewish State will indubitably lead to the complete annihilation of the Arab element in it and its elimination from the land of its ancestors.

Jews in Arab and Islamic countries have always found a refuge which they were unable to find in any other part of the world. It is therefore more advantageous for them to safeguard this tolerance and friendship rather than they should excite wrath and enmity and create antagonisms, which both parties are hardly in need of.

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It is indeed strange that a man who has always preached freedom such as Marshal Smuts should support Zionism, knowing that the Jews are not inhabitants of Palestine, but have taken it by violence from its inhabitants. They established therein an independent Kingdom during the reign of King David until the end of the reign of King Solomon from 1100 B.C. to 930 B.C. or for a period of 170 years only. From that era the country was overrun by Persians, the Ptolemies, the Romans and finally by the Arabs from the days of Omar ben El Khattab to the present time.

Does the great Marshal desire that after all this period the population should be moved from a country already overpopulated and in which it has lived for over fourteen centuries? Or, does he desire that it should be governed by those who lived in it during remote ages between the eleventh and tenth centuries before Christ?

Does he agree that a nation that may have lived in South Africa centuries before Christ should today demand immigration to its ancient home and rule over the present owners?

If we were to encourage the demands of Zionists for the establishment of a Jewish State without justification, would it not have been more natural to encourage them to settle in the vast and uninhabited parts of South Africa, capable of absorbing the whole Jewish population of the world, without having recourse to the taking by force of a country which is already overpopulated, creating hate and raising the antagonism of the neighbouring Arab countries and thereby shaking the foundations of peace which we all desire?

I thank God that there have been great American and British friends who do not share Marshal Smuts's opinion regarding France, and do not as well share his opinion on Zionism, and have condemned its action, and are working disinterestedly to have repudiated an idea which is basically wrong, which does not honor humanity and which is in contradiction to repeated official declarations.

After my several trips in the East, I wish to state that it will not be sufficient for Arabs to save Palestine politically, but that it will be necessary to unite and cooperate in order to develop this country industrially and commercially. Some have thought of establishing organizations with a view to creating an economic and industrial armor capable of protecting Palestine from the danger of hated competition. Science and arts have become the strongest weapons in these days.

It remains to thinkers and leaders of the East to take the necessary steps. May God help us in this task.

Mohammed Aly Allouba.

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Cairo, March 3, 1944.

No. 165.

Subject: Transmitting text of telegram and a
from delegate of King of Yemen
regarding Congressional Resolution
on Palestine.

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington.

Sir:

Referring to my telegrams no. 503, March 4,
10 a.m. and no. 510, March 4, noon, reporting the
delivery to the Legation of a communication from
El Fayed Hussein Al-Nabli, delegate of His Majesty
the King of the Yemen to discuss Arab union matters
with the Egyptian Prime Minister, protesting against
the Joint Resolution introduced in Congress regard-
ing Palestine, I have the honor to transmit herewith
a translation of the Arabic original of the communi-
cation.

Respectfully yours,

Alexander Kirk

Inclosure as stated.

Copy to the American Legation at Baghdad,
Copy to the American Legation at Beirut,
Copy to the American Legation at Jidda,
Copy to the American Consulate General at Jerusalem.

Sent to the Department in cable.
File no. 480.
NAE/rq

A true copy
of the
original

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Revision

Enclosure No. 1 to Cable No. 1052 of March 1, 1944
from the American Legation at Cairo, Egypt.

11. *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 1997; 277: 1001-1005.

His speech showed that the "Arab" delegates to the Council of Constantinople in 1919 were not altogether sincere in their opposition to the "Jews" in Palestine. He said that the Government of the United States had "the right to the land of Palestine" and that it was "with 1, 10, 15, 20, 30, 40, 50, 60, 70, 80, 90, 100, 110, 120, 130, 140, 150, 160, 170, 180, 190, 200, 210, 220, 230, 240, 250, 260, 270, 280, 290, 300, 310, 320, 330, 340, 350, 360, 370, 380, 390, 400, 410, 420, 430, 440, 450, 460, 470, 480, 490, 500, 510, 520, 530, 540, 550, 560, 570, 580, 590, 600, 610, 620, 630, 640, 650, 660, 670, 680, 690, 700, 710, 720, 730, 740, 750, 760, 770, 780, 790, 800, 810, 820, 830, 840, 850, 860, 870, 880, 890, 900, 910, 920, 930, 940, 950, 960, 970, 980, 990, 1000, 1010, 1020, 1030, 1040, 1050, 1060, 1070, 1080, 1090, 1100, 1110, 1120, 1130, 1140, 1150, 1160, 1170, 1180, 1190, 1200, 1210, 1220, 1230, 1240, 1250, 1260, 1270, 1280, 1290, 1300, 1310, 1320, 1330, 1340, 1350, 1360, 1370, 1380, 1390, 1400, 1410, 1420, 1430, 1440, 1450, 1460, 1470, 1480, 1490, 1500, 1510, 1520, 1530, 1540, 1550, 1560, 1570, 1580, 1590, 1600, 1610, 1620, 1630, 1640, 1650, 1660, 1670, 1680, 1690, 1700, 1710, 1720, 1730, 1740, 1750, 1760, 1770, 1780, 1790, 1800, 1810, 1820, 1830, 1840, 1850, 1860, 1870, 1880, 1890, 1900, 1910, 1920, 1930, 1940, 1950, 1960, 1970, 1980, 1990, 2000, 2010, 2020, 2030, 2040, 2050, 2060, 2070, 2080, 2090, 2100, 2110, 2120, 2130, 2140, 2150, 2160, 2170, 2180, 2190, 2200, 2210, 2220, 2230, 2240, 2250, 2260, 2270, 2280, 2290, 2300, 2310, 2320, 2330, 2340, 2350, 2360, 2370, 2380, 2390, 2400, 2410, 2420, 2430, 2440, 2450, 2460, 2470, 2480, 2490, 2500, 2510, 2520, 2530, 2540, 2550, 2560, 2570, 2580, 2590, 2600, 2610, 2620, 2630, 2640, 2650, 2660, 2670, 2680, 2690, 2700, 2710, 2720, 2730, 2740, 2750, 2760, 2770, 2780, 2790, 2800, 2810, 2820, 2830, 2840, 2850, 2860, 2870, 2880, 2890, 2900, 2910, 2920, 2930, 2940, 2950, 2960, 2970, 2980, 2990, 3000, 3010, 3020, 3030, 3040, 3050, 3060, 3070, 3080, 3090, 3100, 3110, 3120, 3130, 3140, 3150, 3160, 3170, 3180, 3190, 3200, 3210, 3220, 3230, 3240, 3250, 3260, 3270, 3280, 3290, 3300, 3310, 3320, 3330, 3340, 3350, 3360, 3370, 3380, 3390, 3400, 3410, 3420, 3430, 3440, 3450, 3460, 3470, 3480, 3490, 3500, 3510, 3520, 3530, 3540, 3550, 3560, 3570, 3580, 3590, 3600, 3610, 3620, 3630, 3640, 3650, 3660, 3670, 3680, 3690, 3700, 3710, 3720, 3730, 3740, 3750, 3760, 3770, 3780, 3790, 3800, 3810, 3820, 3830, 3840, 3850, 3860, 3870, 3880, 3890, 3900, 3910, 3920, 3930, 3940, 3950, 3960, 3970, 3980, 3990, 4000, 4010, 4020, 4030, 4040, 4050, 4060, 4070, 4080, 4090, 4100, 4110, 4120, 4130, 4140, 4150, 4160, 4170, 4180, 4190, 4200, 4210, 4220, 4230, 4240, 4250, 4260, 4270, 4280, 4290, 4300, 4310, 4320, 4330, 4340, 4350, 4360, 4370, 4380, 4390, 4400, 4410, 4420, 4430, 4440, 4450, 4460, 4470, 4480, 4490, 4500, 4510, 4520, 4530, 4540, 4550, 4560, 4570, 4580, 4590, 4600, 4610, 4620, 4630, 4640, 4650, 4660, 4670, 4680, 4690, 4700, 4710, 4720, 4730, 4740, 4750, 4760, 4770, 4780, 4790, 4800, 4810, 4820, 4830, 4840, 4850, 4860, 4870, 4880, 4890, 4900, 4910, 4920, 4930, 4940, 4950, 4960, 4970, 4980, 4990, 5000, 5010, 5020, 5030, 5040, 5050, 5060, 5070, 5080, 5090, 5100, 5110, 5120, 5130, 5140, 5150, 5160, 5170, 5180, 5190, 5200, 5210, 5220, 5230, 5240, 5250, 5260, 5270, 5280, 5290, 5300, 5310, 5320, 5330, 5340, 5350, 5360, 5370, 5380, 5390, 5400, 5410, 5420, 5430, 5440, 5450, 5460, 5470, 5480, 5490, 5500, 5510, 5520, 5530, 5540, 5550, 5560, 5570, 5580, 5590, 5600, 5610, 5620, 5630, 5640, 5650, 5660, 5670, 5680, 5690, 5700, 5710, 5720, 5730, 5740, 5750, 5760, 5770, 5780, 5790, 5800, 5810, 5820, 5830, 5840, 5850, 5860, 5870, 5880, 5890, 5900, 5910, 5920, 5930, 5940, 5950, 5960, 5970, 5980, 5990, 6000, 6010, 6020, 6030, 6040, 6050, 6060, 6070, 6080, 6090, 6100, 6110, 6120, 6130, 6140, 6150, 6160, 6170, 6180, 6190, 6200, 6210, 6220, 6230, 6240, 6250, 6260, 6270, 6280, 6290, 6300, 6310, 6320, 6330, 6340, 6350, 6360, 6370, 6380, 6390, 6400, 6410, 6420, 6430, 6440, 6450, 6460, 6470, 6480, 6490, 6500, 6510, 6520, 6530, 6540, 6550, 6560, 6570, 6580, 6590, 6600, 6610, 6620, 6630, 6640, 6650, 6660, 6670, 6680, 6690, 6700, 6710, 6720, 6730, 6740, 6750, 6760, 6770, 6780, 6790, 6800, 6810, 6820, 6830, 6840, 6850, 6860, 6870, 6880, 6890

I avail myself of this opportunity to present to the delegation of the United States of America the assurance of my highest consideration and best wishes.

1. I am the son of a Jew,
 2. the King of the Jews.
 3. I am the son of a Jew,
 4. the King of the Jews.

Date: 11/15/21 April, 1968, Page 2.

March 6, 1960.

20. The

Location of the United States in America,
 Cairo.

840.1 - *Thymus*

In our article published in the March 2 issue of this paper under the headline "The Kibla (aim) of the Arab Warriors", we dwelt on the disappointing echo which the ether carried to us on February 26 last from the American Congress, at a time when we expected our Ally Great Britain to announce support from her Ally and our friend America to the independence of Palestine in unis~~on~~ with Transjordan under the sovereignty of Abdullah ibn Hussain. We pointed out the bad effect which that echo had left in the hearts of all the Arabs and its even worse effect in the hearts of the Iraqis specifically. We then declared, among other things, that while we realized, as we did, that the Americans upheld James Monroe's doctrine of "America for the Americans", we did not expect ^{them} to deny the Arab claim of "Palestine for the Palestinians." The Americans will remember that on December 22, 1917, President Wilson invited all the nations to consider that principle as a new legislation for the world.

We expected, after the above article, that the Arab governments' protests would be echoed in the United States and would evince a reply from her Government which, we hoped and still hope, will help the Arabs attain their aspirations. We do not claim more than our own legitimate right, i.e. to live freely and independently in our countries, just as other peoples do. It was our belief that all of our American friends - whether governmental or otherwise - would appreciate that, in their protests, the Arabs desired to remove causes that might disturb Arab-American friendship. Had it not been for this desire of theirs, they would not have

taken any step toward that end. They know how to prevent, as they have so far been doing, sacred Palestine from becoming a national home for the Jews who can not possibly attain their futile aspirations.

We said "it was our belief that all of our American friends" because we did not expect Senator Gerald Nye would disagree with General George Marshall, the U.S. Chief of General Staff, who desired that no measure be taken concerning the proposal which has been submitted to the Senate recommending continued immigration into Palestine. General Marshall's attitude was supported by Mr. Henry Stimson, the American Secretary of War and by ^{certain} members of the Senate's Foreign Affairs Committee, according to a wireless despatch from Washington dated March 5. We also did not expect Senator Wagner to answer the Iraqi Parliament's protest in that dry manner which if anything, indicates that the Senator does not bind himself to the politeness and courtesy which is known as an instinctive characteristic of the American people. It also means, among other things, that he agrees with his above mentioned colleague in disregarding the relations which the American Government is desirous of maintaining and which the Arabs are zealous in continuing between the two parties and in not prejudicing and exposing them to dissolution. These two Senators also oppose the other members of the Committee who declared that it was natural to fear that the proposal might disturb the above relations.

We do not know why our Senator replied to the protests of the Iraqi people in that inappropriate manner to His Excellency Jamil al-Madfai's statement as given in a Washington despatch: "I am confident that any increase in Jewish immigration into Palestine would ultimately lead to definite bloodshed under unsettled conditions. These would

not be ^a cause of happiness for the Jews in that or in other Arab countries." Or was the motive of the reply otherwise? If the motive was the statement, then Al-Madfa'i did not exceed the truth and actuality. He, in fact, frankly spoke to the American people about that truth in his capacity as the representative of the Iraqi people. Our American friends must accept the truth, though it be bitter, for it leads to salvation. Do the Americans and the Arabs need anything other than saving their friendship from the destructive factors surrounding it and the circumstances which the enemies of both parties wish to exploit?

Those who know what ~~the~~ interests America has in Arab friendship and what benefit the Arabs have in American friendship will answer this question with "No". "No" means that the Arab-American friendship exists and is anticipated to be even stronger in the future and that the Zionists' hopes for alienating the Arab and the American peoples are doomed to failure. Because America is not merely the two Senators, Emmanuel Celler and others but she contains "an overwhelming majority" who do not overlook the importance of the Arab states and who realize that the Zionists are not destined to live in Palestine, whose hate to Zionism is now many times intenser than when pictured by the late Charles Crane in his interview with the "Times" correspondent upon his arrival in London at the beginning of June, 1922 on his way back to America during his trip to Palestine, Syria, Egypt, Constantinople and other countries. He conveyed to the correspondent ~~the impressions~~ ^{the} the impressions which he gained in Syria and Palestine as head of the American Delegation of the Allied Plebisite Commission which the

Peace Conference of 1919 decided to delegate to determine the demands of the Arab inhabitants of those countries. Charles Crane said: "Hate to Zionism was universal and opposition to it came from the entire inhabitants, even from the old Jewish inhabitants of the country. Demands for national unity were very strong." In criticizing the measures which were being taken in Syria and Palestine in 1922, he said "America can not overlook these measures because Palestine and Syria are not like Albania, Macedonia, or Bulgaria. The errors committed in these small Balkan states may be of great significance and peril but their effect is local and does not overstep the frontiers of the countries in which they are committed. But if any irregularities or mistakes occur in Syria or Palestine, they will have repercussions throughout the world. Mistakes committed in Syria and Palestine for instance, can not possibly be overcome. There was, in ancient times, a Roman ruler in Palestine called Pontius Pilate. His ~~is~~ story is certainly known in England. He wanted to learn the truth and when he learned it, he acted against it. The result was that the world was still suffering on that account. One of the ^{worst} evils is for rulers to be chained to precedents!"

We therefore still expect that the assistance of the American Government and the support of the American people would assure an early solution of the problem of Palestine according to the wishes of the Arabs and their friends.

In ending our comment on the disappointing echo which has emanated from America, we wish to deal with the disappointing echo which has also emanated from South Africa. We say to old, mortal Marshal Smuts: What do you want, O Marshal? Do you regret the death of your own creation,

the hateful mandate? And have you now come to eulogise it? If you regret its death, we do not blame ^{you} because it is your dear offspring. But we the Arabs are pleased to see its demise, after you were the cause of its birth. We would be pleased also if you would prepare a grave for it in your own country because we hate ~~it~~ ^{it} both when it is dead and when it is alive. We still request our ally Great Britain to hasten to remove its corpse on one of her destroyers to where you or she wish to send it and to exchange it with an Anglo-Palestinian Treaty which would represent liberty in her best form in order to make us forget that mutilated picture which represent slavery in its worst aspects. We are hopeful of an early realization of this desire. Success comes from Allah.

Tr: JNC

SOURCE: SAWT AL-AHALI
March 9, 1944
Baghdad.

(TRANSLATION)

AMERICAN CHIEF OF GENERAL STAFF'S PROPOSAL TO
POSTPONE DECISION ON QUESTION OF PALESTINE.

Recent reports indicate that General Marshall, the American Chief of General Staff, has insisted, for "military reasons" on the American Senate's Foreign Affairs Committee as to the necessity of postponing any action on the resolution which has been submitted to the Senate recommending continued immigration into Palestine. It is also reported that Mr. Henry Stimson, the United States Secretary of War, supports General Marshall's viewpoint and that he has addressed letters to the Committee in this sense.

It is evident that the issuance of the above statement in this form from the American Chief of General Staff and the support the latter received from the United States Secretary of War, are indicative of a desire to postpone and not to abandon the decision on the question of immigration into Palestine, at a time when the Arab nations are demanding urgency for a just settlement of the question commensurate with their aspirations; and are also asking the Allies to stop Zionist immigration into Palestine and to make a final decision thereon. Failure to reach a final solution of this problem, and the exclusion, so far, of the Arab inhabitants of Palestine from the right for self-determination - particularly after the disappearance of the threat of war to the Arab countries - arouse the indignation of all the Arabs. This indignation will only lead to prejudicing the war effort. It would therefore have been worthy of the American party which requested postponement of decision on the question of

548-1 - Revision

Palestine in this manner, to demand an urgent settlement of that question in order to win the friendship of the Arab people which is essential for the United Nations' policy not only during but also after the war. Moreover, this American party should have also evinced clear support to the demands of the people of Palestine, which demands are undoubtedly just, and in keeping with the principles of world freedom and international justice, and ^{with} the right of every nation for liberty and independence. The Arab people can not possibly countenance the suspension of immigration at the present time for "military reasons" relating to the prosecution of the war, when they are now effectively participating in that war. The Arabs can not possibly wait to re-open this case until after the war is over.

What is, therefore, the reason for postponing decision on the question of Palestine, if there should exist ^a real and sincere desire for its immediate solution? This postponement, whether requested by the military or the political authorities, indicates only an unsettled policy toward the settlement of this question. This negative attitude is causing anxiety to the Arab peoples and making ~~them~~ ^{question} the goodwill of the Allies. It opposes the manifest stand which the Arab countries have assumed toward the question of Palestine. They are deeply interested ^{seeing} in this question speedily settled in the welfare of the Arab inhabitants of that country. This time, the Arabs are not going to permit themselves to be befriended and given satisfaction in war time, if their national aspirations would not be realized in peace time, particularly now that the war has reached its final stages - a phase which requires the nations to unify their efforts for final victory.

We do not believe that the Allies will deny the Arabs having participated in the war effort, their standing side by side with the United Nations and the placing of all their resources at the service of the joint cause.

Arab public opinion fully realizes that postponement of decision on the question of Palestine will harm the cause of world freedom and lead to separation between the Arab peoples and the Allies. It will, moreover, contradict the right for self-determination and the Atlantic Charter which was proclaimed by England and America and in which the Arab peoples have placed their confidence.

The Arabs ask that the question of Palestine be finally settled according to her natural rights and national aspirations, with no procrastination in its settlement.

00204

JNC

- Source: Az-Zaman
March 10, 1944
Baghdad.

WHAT IS SAID AND RUMORED

Under the above headline Az-Zaman features
a daily column of ^{brief} miscellaneous newsitems, ~~xxx~~

~~xxxxxxx~~ It reports the following on March 10.

We are told that it would be better for
the Zionists to search for a ~~xxx~~ Zionist national
home in places other than Palestine, for Allah's
earth is wide and extensive. Our reply is: The
Zionists are ~~xx~~ obstinate people. They have
~~xxxxxxx~~ for more than 20 years been working
on this ~~imagixatixexhxxxx~~ imaginary home. It
appears that they will work for another 20 years
on this mistaken idea!

SOURCE: AL-HAWADITH
March 10, 1944
Baghdad.

TOPICS, COMMENTS, AND RUMORS.

Under ~~the~~ this column, al-Hawadith reports:

We are told that the forthcoming Arab Conference
will ~~clearly~~ shed light on the solution of the
problem of Palestine and that the Arabs and the British
are solely responsible in the matter. The statements
and propaganda coming from America therefore are
nothing than ~~in individual or group activities~~
activities on the part of individuals and groups that
have no official ~~characteristic~~ significance.

540.1 - Revision

TS.	FMS ACT.	FMS REV.	DATE
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1944.

Date: March 10, 10 a.

Code: Brown

Received: March 14, 1944

Kirk

File no. 800
DOB

TELEGRAM SENT

To: Secretary of State
Washington, D. C.

Date: March 10, 5 p. m.

No.: 55

Code: Brown

Charged to: Gratis (MA)

1-1142

The Iraqi press campaign against the Wagner resolution and for Arab control of Palestine is still active but shows less anti-American feeling, reference paragraph 7 of my no. 47 dated March 4, 11 p. m. Several leading papers now stress that the majority of Americans do not overlook the importance of the Arab states and realize that the Zionists are not destined to live in Palestine, reference paragraph 4 of the same telegram. The publication of General Marshall's and Secretary Stimson's statements has done much to reassure Iraqi public opinion.

Wagner's reply to Madfai appeared in only one newspaper, the English-language Baarah Times, and has been referred to in only one Arabic-language paper, which terms the reply dry and discourteous without stating what the reply was.

Editorials urge that settlement of the Palestine question be not postponed but reached without further delay arguing that the present negative policy jeopardizes Arab friendship and confidence in Allied intentions and in the Atlantic Charter.

I have received three telegraphic protests against the resolutions from non-prominent Iraqis; including one from 38 Jews which attacks American Zionism and demands that Jewish immigration and land-ownership transfer in Palestine cease and that the Atlantic Charter be applied to give self-determination to its present inhabitants.

Henderson

Repeated to Basra, paraphrases by mail to Cairo, Jerusalem, Jidda and Beirut.

File no. 800
DG/dob

TELEGRAM SENT

To: Secretary of State
Washington, D. C.

Date: March 11, 9 a. m.

No.: 56

Code: Brown

Charged to: Gratis (MA)

1-1142

P R I O R I T Y

A Reuter's despatch which has thus far been withheld from publication here by the British, reads as follows:

"Rabbis Stephen Wise and Abra Silver representing Zionist Palestine Movement said today that President Roosevelt authorized them to make this statement: American Government has never given its approval to White Paper of 1939. President is happy that doors of Palestine are today open to Jewish refugees. When future decisions are reached full justice will be done to those who seek Jewish National Home for which our Government and American people have always had deepest sympathy - and today more than ever in view of tragic plight of hundreds of thousands of homeless Jewish refugees."

I should appreciate receiving confirmation or correction of the statement allegedly authorized by the President. If the statement is substantially as authorized please instruct me how to reply when I am approached by the Iraqi Government, since the statement must eventually become known.

Henderson

File no. 800
DG/dcb

TO:	ACT:	INF	INT
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Received: March 16, 1944.

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Legation

840.1 - *Kiriani*

Copies by pouch to Jerusalem, Beirut, Baghdad and Jidda.
sent to Department as Legation's No. 601.

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Ad:rq

Baghdad Legation

March 14, 2 p.m. 1944

Non-confidential

Legation

In long follow up editorial on American attitude regarding Palestine (by 598, March 12, 9 a.m.) Balagh last night, after again referring to conflict between statement attributed to President and supposed official reassurances concerning Wagner resolution as substantiated by Stimson Marshall intervention, opined factors entering into background were magnitude of Jewish vested interests in United States, importance of Jewish vote in forthcoming elections and fact that Arab delegates to London conference in 1938 were assured that Great Britain acknowledged Arab rights and desired to do Arabs justice but could not go as far as desired because of fear of losing American support in looming war through arousing hostility American Jewish sentiment.

Article stated hardly necessary to say American election considerations do not justify oppression of Arabs in own country and that, whereas no one but Fascist could fail to sympathize with persecuted Jews, Allied victory should remove causes of such oppression and make it possible for Jews to live free and respected everywhere and eliminate necessity for migration. Concludes by asking what conclusion could be drawn regarding fine principles enounced for new world after war if their practical interpretation involves annihilation of Arabs in their homeland to satisfy Zionists.

Sent to Department as Legation's no. 609, repeated to Jerusalem. Copies to Beirut, Baghdad and Jidda.

AMH:rq
lm:vvt

AMH

840.1 - Jerusalem

w K
 /

Cairo, March 14, 1944.

No. 1659.

Subject: Reaction to Joint Resolution
on Palestine.

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington.

Sir:

Referring to the Legation's despatch no. 1651 of March 9, 1944 and subsequent telegraphic reports regarding the reaction in Egypt to the Joint Resolution on Palestine recently introduced in Congress, I have the honor to transmit herewith a translation of a telegram dated March 11 received from Fuad Abaza Pasha, President of the Arab Union in Cairo (See my 601, March 13, 2 p.m.), a translation of a letter together with its enclosure received from Madame Hoda Shaarawi, President of the Egyptian Women's Union (See my 556, March 8, 8 p.m. mentioning return of enclosure in accordance with Section I-24, Note 1 of the Foreign Service Regulations) and translations of editorials on the subject in the Arabic Al-Mokattam, Al-Balagh, Al-Thaqafa and Al-Wafd Al-Masri. There is also transmitted a copy of a telegram dated March 5th from Fuad Abaza commenting on a statement regarding Palestine by Marshal Smuts.

Briefly summarized the editorials in question bring out the following points:

Al-Mokattam emphasizes the importance of the Lebanese crisis precedent in meeting problems of this kind; finds such common action a real evidence of Arab solidarity regardless of the terminology (union, federation, alliance or pact) which may be used to define it; cites reception given the wife of the Lebanese President on her recent visit to Cairo as a tribute to Lebanon's fight for independence; says the West can no longer afford to disregard "electric" wakefulness of the Arab East.

Al-Balagh

840.1 - Review

Al-Balah refers to the Arab union conversations inaugurated by Nahas Pasha and says that no union is possible without the inclusion of Palestine, "heart of the Moslem world"; draws a distinction between the original Jewish immigrants impelled by spiritual principles with whom the Arabs could get along and later immigrants having outstanding commercial and industrial capacities who set about conquering Middle Eastern markets, including the Egyptian; observes that it has been found difficult to agree on appropriate Palestinian representatives for participation in Arab union conversations and pays tribute in that regard to assistance rendered by Nuri al-Said and Nahas Pasha, as well as by British; expresses gratification that the prospective arrival in Cairo of Palestine delegates coincides with a statement I was erroneously reported to have made to Nahas Pasha to the effect that the Joint Resolution did not constitute an expression of American policy (reference may have been, as reported in my 556, March 8, 8 p.m., to a conversation which I had with the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in which I took the occasion to explain the situation informally in the sense of the Department's telegraphic background instructions); remarks that the rapid success in the Lebanese crisis and the Joint Declaration affair was owing to the war situation since the Allies don't want disturbances in the Middle East and that this situation should be exploited further as the occasion arises, not only politically but to counteract Zionist aspirations for economic supremacy, it being understood that such action would be motivated by self defense and by enmity to no one.

Al-Thaqafa (Student publication of Faud University, Cairo) remarks that the Islamic countries have been the only ones where anti-Semitism has not developed in the past and that it is incongruous that the Arabs should now be suffering the consequences of injustices committed by others against the Jews; observes that it is understandable that the Jews should be attached to the Holy Places of Palestine just as Moslems are attached to the Holy Places both there and in the Hejaz but that it is absurd to talk of founding a National Home on an industrial and economic basis when it should be a spiritual matter; says the real need of the Jews is to obtain proper treatment in Europe and the United States rather than overcrowding Palestine; expresses conviction that the British will not yield to pressure and will do what is right, not only vis-a-vis the Arabs but also in accordance with their international position.

Al-Wa'id Al-Masri refers to a news article just received indicating that the American Senate would withhold action on Joint Resolution in order to conserve the friendship of the Moslems for the United States and observes that this constitutes

perhaps

perhaps a unique example of American solicitude for Moslem sentiments; wonders whether this decision was reached by the Senate on its own appraisal of the situation or whether it may have been the result of Arab collective reaction; says there is a great difference between present collaboration of the Arabs and their former disunity and that this new spirit will be developed further by Arab unity efforts being made under the leadership of Nuhas Pasha; states there are many Jews who oppose the National Home idea because of the adverse effect which it has on the Jews themselves; advocates leaving the Jews of Palestine alone with the assurance whatever may be their lot in the rest of the world "a fragment will always exist in Palestine."

As might have been expected, Axis broadcasts in Arabic have taken full advantage of the news of the introduction of the Joint Resolution as confirming the allegations which they have consistently been making regarding American subservience to Jewish influence in general and the duplicity of the American Government in betraying the Palestine Arabs in particular. A selection of examples of this type of propaganda will be found in the weekly summaries of Arabic broadcasts which are regularly submitted to the Department.

Respectfully yours,

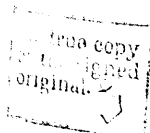
Alexander Kirk

Enclosures:

- 1- Translation of telegram dated March 11 from Fuad Abaza Pasha.
- 2- Translation of letter and enclosure from Madame Hoda Shaarawi.
- 3- Translations of editorials from the Arabic and French press.
- 4- Translation of telegram dated March 5 from Fuad Abaza Pasha.

Copy to the American Consulate General at Jerusalem.
Copy to the American Legation at Beirut.
Copy to the American Legation at Baghdad.
Copy to the American Legation at Jeddah.

Sent to the Department in a valid.
file no. 300.
FAH/rq



Enclosure no. 1 to Despatch no. 1659 of March 14, 1944
From the American Legation at Cairo, Egypt

Translation of Telegram Dated March 11, 1944
Received From Fouad Abaza Pasha, President
of the Arab Union in Cairo.

His Excellency,
The American Minister.
Cairo

"The Arab Union in Cairo has read the message sent by cable by some Jewish religious heads and attributed to H.E. President Roosevelt regarding Palestine and the Jews. The Arab Union protests most energetically against such declarations, relying on the natural rights of peoples and on the Atlantic Charter of which President Roosevelt was one of the authors, and to which twenty seven Powers have adhered. The Union is of opinion that these repeated declarations are tragedies which are not in the interest of the nations now fighting in defence of the rights of peoples."

Signed: Fuad Abaza
President of the Arab Union
in Cairo.

Enclosure no. 2 to Despatch no. 1659 of March 14, 1944
From the American Legation at Cairo, Egypt.

Cairo, March 5, 1944

H.E. The American Minister Plenipotentiary
to Egypt,

I have the honour to enclose herewith a protestation
by "the Arab Women" against the resolution proposed by
some Senators in the American Congress to remove the
restrictions imposed on immigration into Palestine, and
to make this country a national home for the Jews. I
should be grateful if you would kindly transmit the
protestation to the authorities concerned.

Yours sincerely,

(Sgd.) Hoda Shaarawi.

Enclosure

His Excellency President Roosevelt
Washington.

The Arab women refuse to believe that the American Government will act in accordance with the biased opinion of some Senators in the Congress demanding the removal of restrictions on the immigration of Zionists into Palestine and the making of this country a National Home for the Jews -- a proposal which has stirred up the peoples of Arab countries who, up till today, saw in America a Power which defended the rights and liberties of the individual. We feel pity for the United States that this should be the means adopted by some, at its expense, to stir up Arab public opinion against it.

On behalf of the Egyptian Women's Union, and in my capacity of proxy for the women of Iraq, Palestine, Syria and Lebanon to defend the rights of the Arabs of Palestine vis-a-vis all authorities and political organizations, I beg to convey to you and to the American people the Arab women's indignation at the above propaganda (resolution?) which is meant to violate the legal rights of Arabs in Palestine, their original home, and to submit to you the crying protestation of the above women against a demand which we hope will be categorically refused by your honorable Congress.

Yours sincerely,

(Sgd.) Hoda Shaarawi

Enclosure No. 3 to Despatch no. 1659 of March 14, 1944

From the American Legation at Cairo, Egypt.

Al Makattam, March 8, 1944

Under the Caption "ARABISM PASSES ITS SECOND TEST WITH GREAT SUCCESS." Karim Tabet writes as follows:

"If the Arab countries have rendered a signal service to Lebanon in the recent crisis through their unanimous support, there is no doubt that Lebanon gave Arabism an adequate opportunity to show to the world the true situation prevailing in the Arab countries.

"This is true with respect to the relations between the Arab countries and the West in general, but from the internal point of view, that is to day, relations between the Arab countries themselves, there is no doubt that the Lebanon crisis has strengthened considerably the ties of Unity, as the circumstances which developed proved a test for the discussions on Arab Unity which were then being carried out, and it was a source of great satisfaction that the Arab countries passed this test with great success.

"We do not exaggerate when we say that this test was necessary to the project of the Arab Union in Lebanon itself, as it is no secret that the number of Lebanese who feared this project was great. However, God wished Arabian success, and gave the Arabs the opportunity to prove the benefits that would accrue to Lebanon by the unification of their efforts under the Union flag, while each country retained its own independence, frontiers and status.

"Hardly had Egypt protested against the proposal submitted to the American Senate to decide the future of Palestine on a basis unacceptable to the Arabs than Lebanon outstripped the other Arab countries with its protest. All that we ask from our Lebanese friends is that they should resist with all their force the intrigues that some are still sowing in order to arouse the old fears against the new era and policy, and we do not believe that they require more advice on the subject.

"In less than three months from the date of the general uprising in the Arab countries in favor of Lebanon, a new one has just occurred in favor of Palestine. This was a second test and it is a matter of gratification that these countries have also passed it with the same great success as in the first case.

"What is the real situation prevailing in the Arab Countries?

"It is this keen and effective wakefulness that is demonstrated instantaneously whenever any danger menaces any one of these countries. Then all arise in support, making its cause their own.

"This

"This is the true basis for a true solidarity whether it is called Union, Federation, Alliance or Pact. The matter is not in the name but in the results.

"The various functions that have been held here in honor of the wife of the President of the Lebanese Republic since her arrival in Cairo are but an aspect of this reality, as those who took the initiative in these functions wished to pay homage to the "First Lebanese", not merely in his capacity as President of the Republic, but as the first leader in the flight for Lebanese independence.

"We have repeated on several occasions lately that it is no longer possible for the West to ignore this active wakefulness which is now witnessed in the Arab countries. It has become a concrete fact as has been proved in the recent past and again today.

"They all rose simultaneously in these last few days as if an electric current had passed through them at the same instant. It is reality which the Arab world will welcome and wish it all success for the advantage of all Arab countries."

Al Balagh, March 8, 1944

THE PARTICIPATION OF PALESTINE IN THE CONSULTATIONS ON ARAB UNITY AND THE EFFECT OF ATAB AGREEMENT ON THIS PROBLEM (Editorial)

Readers are aware that the consultations on Arab Unity which Mustafa Pasha Nahas initiated and directed have been completed with Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Lebanon and Yemen. All these countries enjoy a variety of independence, having national governments able to represent their people and speak on their behalf. There remains only Palestine, the heart of the Arab World; there is no possibility of a Union in any practical and realistic form without her. Her position is completely different from that of the other Arab countries that surround her on every side. She is an Arab country to which the last war brought a National Home for the Zionists and a British mandate and on whom Nazi persecutions have thrown a migration of Jewish refugees from Nazi tyranny who are stronger, better educated and on a higher level in general than previous Zionist immigrants into Palestine as an aftermath to world War I and following the impulse of their faith. Some even go so far as to say that the first batches of Jewish immigrants which came to Palestine when the National Home was created did not prove detrimental to the Arabs, the owners of the Country, as these immigrants with a few exceptions were rather moved by their creed and not men of great capacities or big industrialists, and it was possible by keeping immigration within certain limits to inspire confidence in the Arabs as regards their future. However, Hitler's policy forced out of Germany the best elements among the Jews, men of the highest standing in Sciences and Industry and some of these came to Palestine where they established industries similar to those they owned in Germany and began conquering all the Middle Eastern markets, not only Palestine, with their products. Even Egypt started importing such products, especially drugs.

The question of the National Home has thus become more complicated, since Palestine, which lack of space prevents from absorbing a large number of Zionist agricultural immigrants, can nevertheless take considerable numbers for industrial purposes, as it is easy to establish with a relatively small space large industries relying on the Middle East markets as an outlet for their production. This is the reason why we said in a previous article that the Arab countries are alive to this danger and that they must create industries within their own frontiers that will protect them from the products of Zionist industries in Palestine, and remove the menace to their economic independence, as otherwise "Tel Aviv" (we do not mean the town itself, but the fact that it is the center of pure Zionism) will become the dominating center of the financial economic and industrial life of the whole Middle East, and particularly Egypt.

We will revert to what we said that consultations with Palestine in connection with Arab Unity were handicapped by various obstacles, some connected with the Arabs themselves and others related to special circumstances inherited from World War I.

Among these handicaps is the non existence of a national government in Palestine, as the country is still under the British Mandate. If it is desired to consult the Arabs, there is no way open but to consult them through their government, but these delegates must be representatives of the people, and unfortunately there are old antagonisms dividing them which make it difficult to choose them.

Opinion is now directed towards choosing these delegates among those that attended the London Conference in 1939. However, new difficulties have arisen due to the fact that some have since died and others are not in a position to come to Cairo. It has therefore become necessary for Arabs to choose others who would join the remaining original delegates, so that consultations may be carried out without the fear of opposition. Nouri Al Said Pasha has made praiseworthy efforts in this connection during his last visit to Palestine.

It appears from the news released today that there are great hopes that the difficulties in the way of Palestine's participation in the consultations will be overcome and that her delegates will shortly arrive in Cairo to take part in the conversations.

We may point out that the direction given by Mustafa Pasha Mahas in regard to Palestine's participation in these consultations has been adopted by all, and H.E. has convinced all parties and negotiated with all concerned in the matter and his merit in smoothing the way must be acknowledged.

It must also be pointed that the British authorities deserve thanks for their stand in the matter. This is and this is not strange as on several occasions the British Foreign Minister has announced on behalf of his Government his sympathy towards Arab Unity and welcome in advance any project on which the Arab people would agree.

It

It is matter for gratification that the hope of shortly seeing in Cairo the Palestine delegates should be accompanied by the statement made by the American Minister in Egypt to Mustafa Pasha Nahas, Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs of Egypt, in connection with the proposal regarding the establishment of a Jewish National Home in Palestine, that this proposal does not represent the opinion of the American Government.

Nevertheless, we still draw attention to the fact that the circumstances of the War are other than those of peace and what rapid success has been possible in the matter of Lebanon and the proposal submitted by one of the Senators to the American Senate has been helped by the fact that the military interests of the Allies do not permit disturbances in the Middle East and that it is advantageous for us to seize every opportunity and exert every effort.

And, while it is a source of satisfaction for us to see all Arab countries unanimously rise in protest and in defense of every one that is menaced, this would nevertheless prove insufficient in time of peace and it is therefore necessary for us to harden our efforts to achieve Unity and, not contenting ourselves with this, to take the necessary measures to protect ourselves also in the economic sphere so as to prevent Zionist supremacy from dominating us in the future.

This action would in fact, be self defense and not motivated by enmity towards anyone.

Bourse Egyptienne, Mars 8, 1944

LE PROBLEME JUIF: Si la Commission sénatoriale américaine a suspendu la motion relative à la levée des restrictions à l'émigration en Palestine les journaux égyptiens poursuivent leur campagne pour défendre la thèse arabe. Dans l'article de fond de "Al Thakafa" le professeur Mohamed Awad Mohamed de la Faculté des lettres écrit:

Dans plusieurs pays du monde, les agglomérations israélites ont connu des épreuves, des souffrances et des persécutions de nature variées. On le sait. Mais il y a un Etat, un groupe d'Etats où les Juifs ont vécu en sécurité et en parfaite prospérité jouissant de toute la protection nécessaire: c'est l'Etat arabe, ce sont les nations islamiques. Les Juifs se sont mêlés à l'élément arabe à un point tel que la littérature hébraïque au Moyen-Age a été fortement influencée par la culture arabe en Orient, en Afrique et en Andalousie. Lorsque les Juifs furent persécutés en Espagne à l'ombre des Tribunaux de l'Inquisition le Sultan turc Soliman les a invités à venir dans son Empire si vaste. Ils y connurent la sécurité après la crainte, la dignité après la servitude, la prospérité après la misère.

Ainsi les Etats où régnait l'Islam sont les seuls au monde où aucun sentiment antisémite n'a germé. Aussi était-il étrange que le peuple arabe doive aujourd'hui payer le prix accablant pour les persécutions endurées par les Juifs dans les Etats non arabes. Il est curieux que les groupements juifs ne sentent pas que ce serait là de l'ingratitude.

UN FOYER SPIRITUEL: Après avoir dit qu'il est tout naturel que le peuple israélite soit attaché aux Lieux Saints de Palestine (comme les musulmans sont attachés aux lieux Saints de Palestine et du Hedjaz), le professeur Awad ajoute:

Une réflexion élémentaire -- exempte de toute enthousiasme et de toute étourderie -- nous montre que le "Foyer National" en Palestine ne saurait être qu'un foyer spirituel. Il est vain d'édifier ce Home spirituel sur des bases d'entreprises industrielles, de courants électriques et de hautes cheminées qui ont déformé et péniblement camouflé le pays voisin.

LA PROPRIÉTÉ DES TERRES:

Plus loin:

L'infiltration des Israélites en Palestine ne s'en tient pas seulement à la proportion numérique; grâce à leurs capitaux, ils ont pu acheter de vastes superficies de terres agricoles.

Les Juifs ont pu acquérir de grandes superficies au Nord, là où sont les terrains les plus fertiles, là où il y a le plus d'eau, de même que sur les rives de la Méditerranée, de St. Jean d'Acre aux frontières égyptiennes. Ils ont pu améliorer bien des terres sablonneuses qui n'étaient pas autrefois cultivées.

Traitant ensuite des émigrés juifs:

Le véritable aspect du problème envisagé aujourd'hui par les Israélites n'est pas celui de l'émigration. La Palestine ne saurait absorber qu'une faible partie d'entre eux. Le besoin réel des Juifs consisterait à être convenablement traités dans les pays où ils vivent au même titre que les Juifs résidant à l'Ouest de l'Europe et aux États-Unis. C'est le seul moyen susceptible de résoudre le problème juif. Et c'est dans cette voie que les dirigeants Juifs devraient orienter leurs efforts.

Le professeur Awad rappelle l'engagement pris par la Grande Bretagne fixant un terme à l'émigration des Juifs en Palestine. Il ajoute:

LES PROVISIONS DU LIVRE BLANC: Dans deux mois, expire le délai par lequel le gouvernement britannique s'est engagé à associer les Palestiniens au gouvernement de leur pays et à y fonder le noyau d'un gouvernement constitutionnel.

Nul doute que le Gouvernement britannique soit aujourd'hui exposé à une vive pression de la part de groupements et d'individus influents sans parler du mouvement des terroristes en Palestine même. Mais la politique sage exige que la Grande Bretagne poursuive la réalisation de ses engagements. Cela ne porte pas seulement sur ses rapports avec les peuples arabes. Cela a trait à sa position internationale et à sa bonne renommée parmi les peuples du monde en ces heures difficiles.

Al Wafd

Al Wafd Al Misri, March 10, 1944

WITHDRAWAL OF AMERICAN RESOLUTION: A private cable received today says that the American Senate has decided to withdraw the resolution regarding the immigration of Jews into Palestine and that this decision has been taken to conserve friendship between Moslems and the United States. It is, perhaps, the first time that a great continent respects Moslem feelings and tries to win their friendship. We may ask: Was the American Senate's decision a spontaneous act? Or was it motivated by the solidarity of Moslems and their unity? There was a time when they were disunited and when no one took heed of them. Moslem countries were at the mercy of every invader and plunderer; and in spite of their great number, they were rifted by internal feuds and discussions. Today, however, they are united and the whole world respects them. ...But Arab union is only in the course of formation. It has not acquired an official form yet. How much more satisfactory will things be when the Arab union project crystalizes into reality! Surely we will then occupy a much higher place in the world. Foreign powers will court our friendship, respect our interests, and treat us as their equal.And now we begin to appreciate the value of Nahas Pasha's call to Arab union. The greater the success of this project, the greater will be the world's respect to Nahas Pasha's policy.

To return to the question of Palestine -- We have met many prominent Jews in that country who told us frankly that the attempt to make Palestine a Jewish National Home had caused them harm, for before the Balfour promise they lived more happily with the people of Palestine.

Leave the Jews alone! Highly cultured as they are, they can live happily with the hospitable people of Palestine. Leave them alone! Moslems will not devour them, and if they are exterminated from all parts of the world, a remnant of them will always exist in Palestine.

Enclosure no. 4 to despatch no. 1658 of March 14, 1944
from the American Legation at Cairo, Egypt.

translation of telegram dated March 5,
1944 received from Fuad Abaza Pasha,
President of the Arab Union in Cairo.

His Excellency
The American Minister,
Cairo.

The Arab Union in Cairo has read the declarations attributed to Marshal Smuts regarding Palestine and the Jews. It protests energetically against them, relying on the principle of the rights of peoples and on the Atlantic Charter in which the Government of the British Empire and of Arab States have participated and on the admission of the British Government itself recorded in the White Paper which upholds the rights of the Arabs. The Union considers Marshal Smuts' declaration as a violation of the rights of the Arabs of Palestine and of all other Arabs and rejects those declarations entirely, calling attention to the difficulties which may confront Great Britain and her allies on account of such and similar declarations.

Fuad Abaza
President of the Arab Union
Cairo.

Cairo, Telegram received March 5, 1944.

Baghdad, 15th. March 1944.

To:-
H.E. The British Ambassador in Iraq,
BAGHDAD.

Sir,

We have noted with deep regret the Anti-Jewish Propaganda spread by the Public Relations Section of the British Embassy in Baghdad, especially the bulletin dated the 9th. March 1944.

We strongly protest against such inhuman acts, and we send you herewith a true copy of an article published in London a few months ago, which we consider the best answer to the Activities of the Public Relations Section.

Sir,

Whatever your principles are, and whatever the interests of your country may be, you are a man of flesh and blood, and we appeal to you to read the attached article carefully and form your own opinion on the subject of Palestine. We are driven to writing this letter by the sad remembrances of the 2nd. of June 1941, when the British Army was inside Baghdad while Jews were being luted and killed and Jewish Girls taken away. Do not the principles of the Atlantic Charter, which include freedom from want and fear etc., apply to the Jewish Minorities persecuted all over the world?

Copy to:-

The American Legation - Baghdad - together with a copy of a bulletin dated 9th. March 1944 published by the Public Relations Section of the British Embassy and a copy of the Article referred to above, for information.

W 1 ✓
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Baghdad, 19th. March 1944.

H.E. The British Ambassador in Iraq,
Baghdad.

Sir,

Further to our letter dated 15th. inst., regarding the Anti-Jewish Activities of the Public Relations Section of British Embassy in Baghdad.

In the last paragraph of a new bulletin published by the above section, dated 14-3-44, "Al-Zaman" newspaper is quoted to have said that:- "the endeavour of the Jewish Agency to send Jews to Palestine from different countries weakens the relationships between the Jews and their original countries and the peoples of these countries consider the Jews as foreign elements"

We should like to make it clear to the world that Jews never leave their countries as long as they are enjoying their full rights as patriotic citizens of their countries. The fact that Jews are leaving their native homes for Palestine clearly shows that almost in every country outside Europe Jews are being persecuted, or at least, deprived of some of their rights, and made to live in continuous terror, not knowing when the next blow will come and when another Rashid Ali will come into power.

Copy to :-

the American Legation - Baghdad - together with
a copy of the above mentioned bulletin for information.

TELEGRAM SENT

To: Secretary of State
Washington, D. C.

Date: March 17, 3 p. m.

No.: 61

Code: Brown

Charged to: Gratis (MA)

1-1142

Al Akhbar of March 15 reports Nuri's interview to Arab News Agency in which he declares that contrary to press reports he neither favors nor advocates two groups rather than one of Arab states; that Iraq supports realization of the wishes of the peoples of Palestine and Transjordan regarding Arab federation and their national aspirations. With regard to Palestine's representation in the Arab federation Nuri sees nothing to prevent Palestine from being represented by existing (or available) members of the Palestine delegation which went to London in 1938. Questioned on the "Greater Syria" project Nuri stated that it depended on the peoples of the territories concerned; that they had the full right to form that union or each of them to maintain its own status but participate as an independent unit in the general Arab federation.

Replying to a question on the holding of a general Arab federation conference (I quote the paper) Nuri Pasha declared there was nothing to prevent its being held in a very short time, although the time to be set depended on Nahas Pasha alone, in his capacity as the leader who has taken charge of the discussions and consultations on this noble project.

Referring to the press reports mentioned at the beginning of this telegram I understand that a London newspaper declared Nuri as favoring formation of two groups of Arab states, one comprising Palestine, Transjordan, Syria and Iraq, the other Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Yemen. This report was copied by Cairo newspapers and gave rise to Nuri's denial. The report has never appeared in the Iraqi press.

Referring to the ambiguous use of the word "maujudun" which can mean either "existing" or "available," in the second sentence of this telegram, I am reliably informed that Nuri's intention was to exclude London delegation members now dead, outside Palestine, and those in jail, but that all efforts are being made to free those now jailed so as to make them "available."

Repeated to Cairo.

File no. 800
Dg/dob

Henderson

840.1 - Kioskiem

TELEGRAM SENT

To: Secretary of State
Washington, D. C.

Date: March 17, 4 p. m.

No.: 62

Code: Brown

Charged to: Gratin (MA)

The following is a resumé of Iraqi press comments¹⁻¹¹⁴² on Zionism during the past week:

Most papers stress that Nazi-oppressed Jews are not thereby entitled to be unjust to Arabs of Palestine. Sawt Al-Ahali of March 15 declares that "question will not be solved by Jewish immigration into Palestine but by annihilating Nazism...and ensuring Jews a democratic existence where they now are." Al-Rai Al-Am of March 11 points out that "American public opinion has been affected by Nazi oppression of the Jews but that it is not familiar with the details of the Palestine question. The American Government has not declared its attitude toward the Zionist proposals in order that the American people may determine the truth and justice of the Zionist views."

As-Zaman on March 10 deplores fact that influence of moderate Zionists has decreased in recent years and that "official Zionist aims have become almost identical to those of the Revisionists....approved by the Zionist Congress held in New York in May 1942." The paper adds that "the American Zionist politicians do not care for the welfare of America or for her international reputation but concerned above all with their own ends."

Comment on White Paper is not unanimous. One paper asks that Great Britain adhere to the terms of the White Paper; two others state that the Arabs have always refused to accept it; and a fourth, while holding that it is not compatible with the Arab point of view, admits that "it represents a policy intended to correct certain errors made during and after the last war."

Sawt Al-Ahali of March 15 severely criticizes Smuts recent declaration in support of a national Jewish home in Palestine, called the proposed "creation of an artificial Jewish majority in Palestine...an enslavement of its people and a deviation from the principles of the Atlantic Charter...at a time when the Arab nations are joining with the United Nations in their struggle against despotism and aggression."

File no. 800
50/808

Henderson

[illegible]

No. :

Received: March 21, 1944.

566. March 17, midnight.

"At an executive meeting held today by the Committee on Foreign Affairs on H. Res. 418 and H. Res. 419, and following the receipt of a letter from the Secretary of War ^{Mr. McNamara} approved the issuance of the following statement:

'Advice and information given to us by those responsible for the conduct of the war, have convinced the Committee that action upon the resolutions at this time would be unwise.'

The above mentioned letter of the Secretary of War to the Chairman is dated March 17 and reads as follows:

"Concerning our conversation with respect to House Resolutions 418 and 419, it is the considered judgment of the War Department that without reference to the merits of these resolutions, further action on them at this time would be prejudicial to the successful prosecution of the war."

Inform appropriate authorities.

Repeat to Jerusalem, Jidd, Baghdad and Beirut
for repetition to Damascus.

Kirk

File no. 800
DOB

840.1 - *Acronia*

TELEGRAM SENT

To: Secretary of State
Washington, D. C.

Date: March 21, 1944.

No.: 65

Code: En clair

Charged to: Gratis (MA)

Prime Minister Nuri made the following statement
on Palestine in the Chamber of Deputies on March 18,
1944:

"What has been brought up in the American Senate relative to the opening of the door of immigration is but an individual opinion, to which the American Government does not bind itself. The American Nation did not participate in any discussion on foreign policy until after it entered the present war. It is undoubtedly bound by the Atlantic Charter and nothing else. If American personalities, whether they be Senators, party leaders, or journalists make statements, it should not mean that America or the American Government is bound by those statements, just as it has not approved the White Paper. If you ask what is the American Government's policy towards Palestine, I would state that no one, not even Mr. Roosevelt, may decide the question of Palestine because the American Government has given pledges to no one for the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine against the will of the Arabs. I believe that it is highly useful to enlighten American public opinion about Arab views and sentiments on Palestine because I do not expect the American people to adopt at any time a policy of oppression and aggression against any part of the Arab countries.

"I likewise do not expect that America would adopt a policy contradictory to the Atlantic Charter. The truth is, this is nothing but a movement of individual American Zionists."

Finally, Nuri asked the Deputies and the Iraqi People not to do anything which might distort the truth of the situation. He also requested that no one hesitate to seize every opportunity to show his interest in the question, without extravagance. Repeated to Cairo.

Henderson

File no. 800
DG/dob

840,1 - Henderson

Cairo, March 28, 1944.

No. 1705.

Subject: Transmitting copy of Letter from
Prime Minister regarding Statement
on Palestine Authorized by the
President; action to Statement
of Foreign Relations Committee of
House on Joint resolution.

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington.

Sir:

Referring to my despatch no. 1831 of March 21,
1944, transmitting a copy of my letter of March 17,
1944 to the Egyptian Prime Minister regarding a
statement on Palestine published by Habbis Else and
Silver with the authorization of the President, and
to my telegram no. 780 of March 28, 4 p.m. giving
the substance of the Prime Minister's reply of
March 17, I have the honor to transmit herewith
a copy of the Prime Minister's letter in question,
together with a translation thereof.

With reference to the Department's telegram
no. 805 of March 17, 4 p.m., transmitting the text
of a statement of the Chairman of the Committee
on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives
announcing the postponement of action on the Joint
Congressional resolution on Palestine, news reports
covering the statement which were carried in all
the press, both foreign language and Arabic, were
generally well received and had the effect of
bringing to an at least temporary halt the series
of strongly critical editorials on the subject which
had been appearing since the introduction of the
resolution was made public. Moreover, it gave
rise to the publication in the important and
widely circulated Al-Ahram on March 18 of a
laudatory article from the pen of Abdur Rahman
Azam Bey, the well known Arab advocate whose
counsel is held in high regard throughout the
Arab world. The following is a translation of
Azam Bey's article (underlined mine):

Results

840.1 - Palestine

008 .04 411
975/03

"Results of Arab cooperation have now become evident through the quick steps which Arab governments and parliaments of certain sister countries have recently adopted to counteract the new isolationist move in America. In a declaration which H. H. Huri al-Said Pasha recently made in the Iraqi Chamber of Deputies he announced that the American resolution submitted to the Congress favoring the continuation of Jewish immigration into Palestine had been shelved.

"The force of Arab union can also be understood from the advice given by the Chief of Staff of the American Army and by the Secretary of War--an advice which has led to the putting of the above resolution in the ice chest. In fact, by so doing, America has rendered a great service to herself and to the Arab countries. She has proved that she intends to be friendly to those countries. It must be remembered that Arabs had been entertaining great hopes that America would one day give up her isolationism. They have nothing to fear from her because America has no imperialistic designs and she is anxious that relations among different nations should be based on equity and equality.

"The fact that responsible people in America have hastened to accede to the demands of Arab countries is clear evidence of the great force which lies behind Arab union. It is also a proof that the Arabs' faith in the equity of the New World is not in vain. Indeed it is highly satisfactory to the Arabs to perceive the result of their union.

"May we now hope that a new chapter in the history of Palestine may begin and that the contents of the White Paper, prescribing the cessation of Jewish immigration into Palestine as from next month, may be rejected? May we be optimistic enough to believe that the British policy responsible for the White Paper has at last freed itself from Jewish pressures, thanks to Arab union and to America's desire to be friendly to the Arabs?

Although realizing that these recent events merely constitute a passing phase in the larger cycle of developments in the chronically troubled Palestine situation, it may be remarked that the various steps taken with a view to clarifying the significance of both the Congressional Resolution and the President's statement have served not only to correct to a degree certain misunderstandings engendered in the minds of the Arab peoples but have afforded occasion for the expression of basic principles of American policy in respect of Palestine which, if consistently maintained, should contribute

to

to a sounder approach to similar problems as they may arise in the future. I have particularly in mind in this connection the differentiation made between the Jewish National Home and Jewish Commonwealth; the elucidation of the attitude of the American Government to the White Paper; and the statement that, although Palestine is at present a primarily British responsibility, it was the view of the American Government that no situation altering the basic situation of Palestine should be taken until an appropriate time was reached and that at such a time the governments responsible for the establishment of peace and the maintenance of law and justice in the world should come to an equitable settlement of all the questions involved in full consultation with both Arabs and Jews. It is also believed that benefit should ensue from the statements attributed to the President in his press conference of March 28 (as reported in a United Press despatch from Washington on March 29--copy enclosed-- and covered less specifically in Radio Bulletin no. 75) drawing a distinction between military and civilian considerations and stating that in its civilian aspects the Palestine question was one to be worked out in the post war period. Having made this constructive approach and observed its at least momentarily beneficial effects, slight should not be lost of the fact, however, that the situation is one which will not permit of relaxation until a final solution is reached since it can only be assumed that the repercussions which have been noted in the past will doubtless become recurrent in the event of any renewed agitation abroad and that the road to the resolution of this problem will be both long and increasingly difficult.

Respectfully yours,

Alexander Kirk

Enclosures:

- 1- Copy of letter from the Egyptian Prime Minister in the original French text dated March 27, 1944.
- 2- English translation of the same letter.
- 3- Copy of United Press Bulletin.
- 4- Copy to the American Consulate General at Jerusalem.
- 5- Copy to the American Legation at Baghdad.
- 6- Copy to the American Legation at Beirut.
- 7- Copy to the American Legation at Jidda.

Sent to the Department in ozalid.
file no. 800.
RAN/rq

Enclosure no. 1 to despatch no. 1706 of March 20, 1944
from the American Legation at Cairo, Egypt.

Ministère des Affaires Étrangères.

Le Caire, le 17 Mars 1944.

Excellence,

Je tiens à vous remercier de l'empressement que vous avez mis à répondre à ma lettre du 11 Mars et à me faire parvenir, dans votre seconde lettre du 17 de ce mois, les précisions qu'il m'était permis de vous demander.

Je note avec regret l'effetivement que le Président Roosevelt a fait aux rabbins Stephen Wise et Abba Silver une déclaration sur la Palestine et qu'il les a autorisés à la publier.

Je suis heureux cependant que les précisions que vous avez bien voulu me donner atténuent en partie la portée de ladite déclaration, sans toutefois rassurer complètement les Juifs de Palestine ni l'opinion des peuples arabes en général.

Sans doute le point de vue du Président Roosevelt, aussi bien que celui du Gouvernement des États-Unis, est "qu'aucune décision altère la situation fondamentale de la Palestine ne sera prise sans consultation complète avec les Arabes et les Juifs." C'est également le point de vue que nous avons toujours exprimé dans l'intérêt de la paix, mais nous n'avons pas manqué, à une occasion, de souligner que les hommes politiques responsables ne fassent pas, en attendant, des déclarations susceptibles de provoquer gravement la Palestine et les pays arabes.

Il me est permis de réitérer ma suggestion, à cet égard, que la prochaine déclaration d'un grand homme d'état qui aujourd'hui assume, à juste titre, la responsabilité glorieuse d'être le premier champion de la liberté et de la démocratie. Les Arabes y ont trouvé, avec tristesse, comme l'expression d'un apriorisme étroit et égoïste. Un mouvement général de protestation s'est déclenché et j'ai tenu à élancer les prévisions qui se sont fait jour, en assurant les pays voisins que j'avais pris la question en mains.

Il est évident, comme il a été dit dans notre dernier télégramme, que la persécution des Juifs en Europe est profondément regrettable, mais le sionisme ne tient rien moins qu'à une persécution d'un autre ordre: c'est de frustrer les Palestiniens de leur droit absolu de souveraineté. Le Moyen-Orient a salué la Charte de l'Atlantique comme un nouveau espoir, y voyant une garantie d'avenir et la sauvegarde de leurs droits. La

question

Son Excellence

Alexander Kirk,

Envoyé Extraordinaire et Ministre

Plénipotentiaire des États-Unis d'Amérique,

Le Caire.

question de Palestine, devait donc être envisagée sous l'angle de la Charte et je pense qu'il faudrait s'employer à ne pas donner aux peuples arabes l'impression que cette Charte pourrait être une simple manifestation verbale.

Je sais que la Charte, dont le Président Roosevelt est le principal auteur, est l'expression de sa volonté absolue et c'est pourquoi nous lui faisons une entière confiance. Ayant à cœur de voir renforcer cette confiance par tous les arabes, je vous prie instamment d'attirer l'attention de l'Assemblée sur ce qui précède, étant convaincu que le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis poursuivra le sincère dessein de donner satisfaction aux légitimes revendications du peuple de Palestine.

Je saisis cette occasion pour vous renouveler, Excellence, les assurances de ma haute considération.

H. H. Nahas

Enclosure no. 2 to despatch no. 1705 of March 26, 1944
from the American Legation at Cairo, Egypt.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Cairo, March 27, 1944.

Excellency,

I wish to thank you for the promptness with which you replied to my letter of March 11 and for communicating to me in your second letter of the 17th of this month the clarification which I requested of you.

I note with regret that President Roosevelt did in fact make a declaration on Palestine to Rabbi Stephen Wise and Abra Silver and that he authorized them to publish it.

I am happy, however, that the clarification which you were so good as to give me partially attenuates the scope of the said declaration without, however, completely reassuring the natives of Palestine or the feeling of the Arabs in general.

Doubtless the point of view of President Roosevelt, as well as that of the American Government, is "that no decision altering the basic situation of Palestine should be reached without full consultation with the Arabs and the Jews." Such is also the point of view which we have always expressed in the interest of peace but we have not failed constantly to suggest that responsible political personages should not meanwhile make declarations liable seriously to mislead Palestine and the Arab countries.

If I may be permitted to repeat my suggestion, it is that (since) the recent declaration emanated from a great statesman who today rightfully assumes the glorious responsibility of being the greatest champion of liberty and democracy, the Arabs surely saw in it an expression of official support of Zionism. A general movement of protest was set in motion as I attempted to calm the apprehensions which became definite by assuring neighboring countries that I had taken the matter in hand.

It is evident, as was stated in our recent aide memoire, that the persecution of Jews in Europe is profoundly to be regretted but Zionism amounts to nothing less than (substituting) one persecution for another: that of frustration the Palestinians in their absolute right to sovereignty. The Middle East Charter the Atlantic Charter as a message of hope, seeing in it a guarantee for the future and a safeguard of its rights. The question of Palestine should therefore be approached in the light of the Charter and I think that care should be taken not to give the Arab peoples the impression that this Charter could be a mere verbal manifestation.

I know that the Charter, of which President Roosevelt was the principal author, is the expression of his absolute will and that is why we place complete confidence in it. Desiring to see this confidence shared by all the Arabs, I earnestly pray you to invite the attention of Washington to the foregoing, being convinced that the Government of the United States is following the sincere policy of

giving

-2-

giving satisfaction to the legitimate claims of the people of Palestine.

I take the occasion to renew to you, Excellency, the assurance of my high consideration.

Signed: A. El-Nahac.

Enclosure no. 3 to despatch no. 1705 of March 12, 1944,
from the American Legation at Cairo, Egypt.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF WAR

Morning 4. March 21, 1944.

WASHINGTON, D. C. 19, APR 1, 1944.

President Roosevelt, in his press conference last night, full-heartedly backed the demands made by Secretary of War Henry Stimson for shelving the pre-war resolutions in Congress.

The President emphasized that very serious military considerations had prompted the War Department's attitude.

Mr. Roosevelt explained that his utterances to Rabbi Wise, which had caused much unfavorable comment in the Arab world, had been made with reference to the future post-war world when the Palestine problem could be worked out in a more permanent fashion.

Asked how the recent statement made by Rabbi Wise regarding the American Government's non-approval of the Palestine White Paper could be squared with the U.S. Army's opposition, President Roosevelt said that the one was a military subject and the other entirely different--a civilian matter for the future to be worked out when there is peace. The military situation, he added, is causing a temporary ban on the Palestine question.

(COPY 2 IN 55)

Department of State

March 29, 1948

750

Non-confidential

Legation

Following is substance of letter received from "The Times" dated March 27 replying to my letter of March 17 communicating substance of Sept's call, March 16, 1 p.m.: Begin Summary. Regrets that President authorized Palestine declaration but happy that supplemental clarification partially attenuates declaration without, however, entirely reassuring Palestinians nor Arab peoples in general. The assurance that no decision regarding Palestine would be taken without consultation with Arabs and Jews is in accord with Egyptian policy but inasmuch it would seem desirable that responsible political personages refrain from declarations liable to mislead Palestine and the Arab countries. The recent declaration coming from a great statesman justly regarded as greatest champion of liberty and democracy had been unhappily regarded by Arabs as official support of Zionism and had caused a wave of protest which Kamas had sought to calm by assuring neighboring countries that he was looking into matter.

As was stated in recent Egyptian side-memoire Jewish persecution in Europe is deplored but Zionism merely substitutes the persecution for another by depriving Palestinians of their absolute right to sovereignty.

Middle East had greeted Atlantic Charter as message of hope and Palestine question should be treated in accordance with its principles and care taken to avoid giving Arab peoples impression that charter might be a "mere oral manifestation." Charter of which President was author is regarded as expression

of his

840.1 - Zionism

-2-

of his determined will and it was for that reason that implicit confidence was placed therein. Desiring to see this confidence shared by all the Arabs requests that foregoing be communicated to American Government in conviction that United States will pursue policy of recognizing legitimate claims of Palestine people. and summary.

Text being transmitted by air pouch.

Text to Jerusalem, Jidda, Beirut and Baghdad.

AKA.

AMH:rq

cnc:vwt



AMERICAN LEGATION
CAIRO, EGYPT

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

From: American Legation
Cairo, Egypt.

Date: April 1, 9 a. m.

No.:

Code: Brown

Received: April 1, 1944.

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The following telegram has been received from the Department:

692. March 31, 1 p. m.

The following is the text (your 503, March 4, noon) of the reply which the Department is making to the Egyptian Minister's note of March 14, 1944 conveying the protest, transmitted through Nahas Pasha, of the Imam Yehya of Yemen respecting the Palestine resolutions:

"I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your note dated March 14, 1944 conveying a communication, transmitted through the Prime Minister of Egypt, from His Majesty the Imam Yehya of Yemen relative to Palestine.

"I should appreciate it if you would be good enough to request His Excellency Mustapha Nahas Pasha to inform His Majesty the Imam Yehya that his message has been received by this Government and that careful consideration has been accorded to the views put forward therein. I should be grateful if the Prime Minister would express to His Majesty the appreciation of the Government of the United States for the friendly spirit which prompted him to send this message.

"With reference to the resolutions which were introduced into the Senate and House of Representatives respecting Palestine, it should be pointed out that these resolutions have not passed either House of Congress and, in fact, are not likely to be acted upon at this time.

"In communicating this message to His Majesty the Imam Yehya, His Excellency Nahas Pasha may wish to express the assurance conveyed in my communication to you dated March 28, 1944 in which it is stated that although Palestine is primarily a British responsibility, it is the view of the

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Government of the United States that no decision altering the basic situation of Palestine should be taken until an appropriate time is reached and that at such a time the Governments responsible for the restoration of peace and the maintenance of law and justice in the world should come to an equitable settlement of all the questions involved in full consultation with both Arabs and Jews.

"Accept, Sir, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration."

You may reply in the same sense to El Sayyid Hussein El Kobsi.

Repeat to Jerusalem, Baghdad, Jidda, Damasous, and Beirut for their information.

Kirk

File no. 800
DCB

OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON, D. C.



DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

J. C.
Leid
April 26, 1944.

AIR MAIL

Dear Loy:

Thinking you might care to have some "late news" that I collected a few days ago, I enclose for your information a copy of a memorandum of conversation that I had with Dr. Goldmann.

I hope things are going well with you.

With kind regards,

Cordially yours,

Enclosure:
Memorandum

Harold B. Hoskins
Harold B. Hoskins,
Lt. Colonel, A.U.S.

The Honorable
Loy W. Henderson,
American Minister,
Baghdad.



AMIA 91A

COPY

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

April 20, 1944.

SUBJECT: Report on Recent Trip to England

PARTICIPANTS: Dr. Nahum Goldmann
Col. Harold B. Hoskins, A.U.S.

Dr. Goldmann came in to see me to give me, as he promised, he would, a report on his recent trip to England.

His Visit to the Secretary:

Dr. Goldmann mentioned the fact that he and Dr. Wise had seen the Secretary earlier in the day and had asked the Secretary to speak to the World Jewish Congress scheduled for May 20th in New York. He explained that this Congress would deal primarily with refugees and with the postwar position of Jews everywhere and only incidentally with Palestine.

Zionist British in London:

Dr. Goldmann said that he had come back more hopeful than when he went over. Mr. Churchill, he said, was even more strongly for Zionism and had so informed his Cabinet. As a result it was interesting to see the opposition within the Cabinet coming around, even to Mr. Eden who perhaps was the least sympathetic member. In addition, Zionists felt they had a strong friend in Randolph Churchill, Winston Churchill's son. In this connection Dr. Goldmann referred to a comment made by Randolph Churchill when the question of partition came up; the son chided his father on even thinking of partition and said that the boundaries of Palestine should be widened, not narrowed.

However, Dr. Goldman admitted that he did not expect there would be any decisions regarding Palestine perhaps until the late summer or the fall, depending on the war situation. He felt this position was confirmed by the fact that Sir Harold MacMichael, the High Commissioner, had been confirmed in his office not for another year but only for six months, so that his term would end in the fall. He mentioned the fact that Mr. Churchill said he wished to pick his time for having a fight on Palestine and that in such instances he preferred one big fight to five small ones. The idea of partition, he felt, was out as it would freeze the status of Palestine on too small a scale. Dr. Goldmann also referred to a more friendly feeling in the Colonial Office.

Zionist Efforts to Get Dominions Support for Their Cause:

Dr. Goldmann went on to say that he expected that at the Dominions Conference to be held shortly in London there would undoubtedly be discussions about Palestine; he did, however, not expect any decisions to be taken until later since, in any

case,

case, Palestine was considered primarily a problem for the United Kingdom rather than for the Dominions. However, General Smuts was of course very friendly and so was Mr. Curtin, the Prime Minister of Australia. Dr. Goldmann expected to see Mr. Frazor, the Prime Minister of New Zealand, within the next few days while he was in Washington. Dr. Goldmann also mentioned the fact that he had recently had a long talk with MacKenzie King, the Premier of Canada. Mr. King explained that domestic conditions would not allow Canada even to take in 10,000 Jewish refugees. Dr. Goldmann said that MacKenzie King was much relieved to find that Dr. Goldmann was not interested in having Jewish refugees go to Canada but only to Palestine. In fact, Dr. Goldmann even offered to take some Jews from Canada to Palestine. This suggestion, Dr. Goldmann said, more than satisfied Mr. King, who, he now felt, was an enthusiastic supporter of the Zionist policy for a Jewish state in Palestine.

Zionist Situation in the United States:

As regards the situation in the United States, Dr. Goldmann said that it was only after he had left the United States that Dr. Silver had been successful in getting a Zionist decision to introduce the Congressional Resolutions regarding Palestine. From the start Dr. Goldmann had feared that their introduction at this time would be a mistake and would result in their being defeated, as actually turned out to be the case. Dr. Goldmann said he had tried to explain to Dr. Silver the inadvisability at this time of such action, and urged that in an election year Dr. Silver should not misjudge noise and favorable publicity for real support. Obviously, in Dr. Goldmann's opinion, the President cannot move ahead of Churchill in regard to Palestine and Churchill, it was known, was not ready to move. He also felt it had been extremely foolish to build up so much pressure around the date of March 31, since, again, the British could make no statement regarding the White Paper of 1939 until a new policy had been agreed upon and everyone knew there was no such new policy ready.

Arabian Pipeline:

As to the oil pipeline, Dr. Goldmann said he had talked to Abe Fortas and Mr. Ickes in the Department of the Interior, as well as to various Senators who had asked his opinion on this matter. He said he did not feel that the Zionists should take a position in the matter, but admitted that he inclined to favor it on the theory that greater United States interests in the Near East are likely to help Zionism unless the British and the United States are played off against each other. If this happened he felt the Zionist cause might suffer.

United States Responsibilities Under the American-British Convention of 1924:

Dr. Goldmann also said he realized that the plan of trying to make out a case that the United States had, on the basis of the 1924 United States-British Convention, assumed responsibility for the carrying out of the mandate in Palestine, is unsound. He said that a number of years ago in Geneva he had looked into

this and had found that this was not a correct interpretation of the convention. At the moment, he said, the Zionists were not planning to press for any congressional resolutions.

A Solution for Palestine:

As regards a solution for Palestine, Dr. Goldmann said he still hoped for one favorable to the Zionists, but agreed that such a settlement should come by agreement with the Arabs rather than by force. I stressed the necessity for a peaceful solution based on agreement between Great Britain, the United States, the Arabs, and the Jews. Dr. Goldmann said he fully agreed but commented on the fact that as yet neither Great Britain nor the United States had made a concrete effort to get all four parties together. He hoped this might be done and believed that good would come from it.

Conclusion:

Dr. Goldmann said that for some time he expected to be in Washington two days a week and would get in touch with me again. The rest of the time he spends in New York.

As regards the attacks on me in The Nation and in the Zionist magazine New Palestine, Dr. Goldmann said he had not known of these until his return. He felt they were unfair and said he would see that they were discontinued.

NE:HHHoskins:GC

Baghdad, Iraq, May 3, 1944.

No. 271

Subject: A Baghdad Newspaper Describes the Anti-Zionist
Ideas of Vincent SHEEAN.

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington, D.C.

Sir:

I have the honor to enclose the translation of an article which appeared in the Arabic newspaper Az-Zaman of April 26, 1944 describing how Vincent Sheean who, originally sent to Palestine by the American Zionist organization, completely changed his ideas about the Palestine problem after his arrival there and strongly defended the Arab point of view in his book "Personal History".

The article points out that one of the methods of Zionist propaganda was that of sending prominent writers to Palestine to study Zionist activities there and later to support the movement by lectures, articles and books.

The salient part of this article is that which lists the ten conclusions arrived at by Mr. Sheean. These points are all in favor of the Arabs.

Dr. JAMALI, the author of this account, concludes by hoping sincerely that Senator WAGNER and his colleagues will hearken unto Mr. Sheean, the voice of truth and conscience which cries for justice in the Palestine Question.

Respectfully yours,

Loy W. Henderson.

Enclosure:
As stated.

File No. 891
WWB/efg.

Enclosure to Despatch No. 271
of May 3, 1944, from the American Legation, Baghdad.

(Translation) Source: Az-Zaman, April 26, 1944
Baghdad.

AN EXAMPLE OF THE LIVING AMERICAN CONSCIENCE

We have said in previous articles that the Zionists in America were using various means to influence American public opinion with a view to proving their allegations concerning Palestine. But truth can not always be suppressed. It must inevitably rise again, even though at a later date. One of the Zionist propaganda methods has been to sponsor the visits of leading writers to Palestine to watch Zionist activities there and then to support the movement by writing articles and books and delivering lectures and addresses on Zionism, as well as advertising their "brilliant" work in Palestine and the necessity of supporting and upholding their movement. Among those whom the Zionists assisted in visiting Palestine is Mr. Vincent Sheean, a famous American author. Mr. Shean is today considered one of America's best writers.

One of his books which was published last year under the title "Between the Thunder and the Sun" has left a deep impression in British and American literary and political circles. In another of his books entitled "Personal History" Mr. Sheean covers his trip to the Holy Land, which was undertaken at the expense of the Zionists. However, as soon as he arrived there and learned the truth, Mr. Sheean's conscience was stirred and he heard the voice of truth, to which he listened, and then cabled the Zionists of his intention to discontinue his relations with them in order that he might more freely study the situation and arrive at conclusions shorn of material inducement and the influence of friends. With great courage, and in perfect freedom, he came to the conclusion that the Arabs were jeopardized in Palestine, that right was on their side, and that political Zionism was a narrow aggressive movement which could only create local disturbances and international troubles. Thus, we find Mr. Sheean giving us a high example of the living American conscience which disregards money or personal interests, at the revelation of truth. We therefore briefly summarize for our esteemed readers the story of Mr. Sheean's discovery of the light of truth. Those who want more details may consult Mr. Sheean's "Personal History".

While a Freshman at the University of Chicago, Mr. Sheean cultivated the acquaintance of a number of Jewish students. He developed a strong friendship with them which left a deep impression in his mind, so much so that he became an admirer of Jewish intelligence, Jewish youth, and Jewish spirit, considering himself as one of them. He attended their private and public meetings and after the lapse of years he waxed enthusiastic over Zionism and became one of its advocates. He therefore felt a strong urge to visit Palestine, but at that time had not sufficient funds to carry him there. While discussing his intention with some of his Jewish friends, one of them advised him to get into touch with the owner of the "New Palestine", a Zionist review appearing in America. This publication was prepared to extend financial help to well-known writers wishing to go to Palestine, provided they act as its correspondents. A bargain was consequently struck between Mr. Sheean and the foregoing publication in fifteen minutes.

Mr. Sheean thereafter proceeded to London to meet Zionist leaders and thence left for Palestine. Upon his arrival in Palestine, Mr. Sheean met and talked with Zionists only. He did not get in touch with the Arabs nor did he listen to their viewpoints, although he knew the late Arab nationalist writer, George Antonius, who lived in the same pension with him - Mr. Sheean having stipulated to George Antonius not to discuss Palestine and Zionism with him. One day, an Arab newspaper reported that so and so had come to Palestine as a Zionist hireling. This sentence touched Mr. Sheean's conscience and shook him severely. He re-examined himself and found that he had truly lost his freedom by accepting Zionist remuneration. He thereupon immediately cabled America and asked the Zionists there to discontinue his allowances and that he was prepared to reimburse them for any expenses which they had incurred on his behalf. In this way, Mr. Sheean gives us a noble lesson in the ethics of writers and correspondents. No good comes out of an author who does not write from a pure conscience. May hired pens and imprisoned conscience never live! Mr. Sheean learned the Zionist viewpoint and also the Arab viewpoint in detail and we therefore set below a summary of his most important conclusions:

1. Palestine is Arab. The Zionists want to take that country so that her Arab majority may become a minority and thus establish a Zionist state therein. The Arabs are right in their wrath. It is not possible for any nation to accept such a situation.
2. Palestine is held sacred by Moslems as well as by Jews. The Arabs therefore, are not expected to sell Palestine, or leave her for Zionist money. The question, in the view of the Arabs, is not a material one.
3. However backward and however elementary the Arab social and economic systems may be, it is essential that they should first ensure their freedom and independence and then turn to social and economic progress.
4. The Arabs in Palestine lack organization and the method of spreading their viewpoint. They display great weakness in defending their right against Zionist money and Zionist organization.
5. The right of the Arabs in Palestine is natural and "absolute". The Zionists are attempting to institute a right for themselves by artificial and illogical means.
6. The Zionists are always proud of the constructional projects and cultural and health organizations which they have set up in Palestine. Such, in their eyes, is Zionism, forgetting, as they do, that all these are secondary issues compared with the conquest of and transgression against a people's freedom and independence in their own homeland.
7. The Zionists claim that they could silence the Arab or buy him with gold. They forget that the Arab shuns money and matter for the sake of his freedom, honor, and independence.
8. Political Zionism in Palestine is a severe and aggressive movement. It brought about the bloody disturbances of 1929 by instigating the Arabs and rousing their sentiments. As a proof thereof, Mr. Sheean states that a woman correspondent informed him a few days before the events, that Zionist youths had intended to stage a demonstration calculated to instigate the Arabs and stabilize Zionist influence in Palestine. That actually took place.

9. The Zionists are alien to Palestine, as much as he himself, i.e. Mr. Sheean, is alien to that country.
10. Mr. Sheean basically differentiates between broad Judaism and narrow Zionism and between peaceful Judaism and aggressive Zionism. He advises all his Jewish friends not to be deceived by Zionist propaganda. It, i.e. Zionism, does not solve the world Jewish problem, but makes it worse. It is neither correct nor wise to add another heinous mistake to a previous mistake which is possible of solution.

We thus find Mr. Sheean had gone to Palestine as a sincere friend of the Zionists and returned as their enemy. He went to Palestine knowing nothing of the Arab right and came back defending that right. But he remains a loyal and sincere friend of the Jews, lecturing on the danger of Zionism to the Jews throughout the world, particularly in Palestine. As he declares, although he angers some of them, he is nevertheless prepared to antagonize all of them for the sake of truth and conscience. Thus we see Mr. Sheean as a writer who should be a teacher of ethics by deed and not by word - a writer in whom America in particular and humanity in general should feel proud, because of his fairness and purity of conscience. We hope sincerely that Senator Wagner and his colleagues will listen to Mr. Sheean's words. No peace shall prevail in the world if the voice of truth and conscience is not heard. Mr. Sheean has cried for the application of justice to the cause of Palestine.

Son of Iraq
(Dr. Fadhil Jamali)



UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
OFFICE OF WAR INFORMATION
224 WEST 57TH STREET
NEW YORK 19, N. Y.

Mr. Gillespie Evans
American Information Service
American Legation
Baghdad, Iraq.

June 13, 1944

Dear Mr. Evans,

In your letter to Robert Newman, dated April 25th, you requested that we supply you with the texts of any of our broadcasts in Arabic dealing with Palestine.

Dr. Faris, head of the Arabic desk has examined all Arabic scripts broadcast since January 1st and he reports that the Palestine question was only mentioned once, on March 31st.

A copy of the text in question is enclosed.

With kindest regards to Mrs. Evans and to the Gaudins whom I knew in Egypt for many years

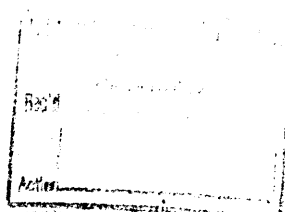
Sincerely,

J. Edward Chorlian

J. Edward Chorlian
Radio Outpost Division.

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Newman

nk



Cairo, July 15, 1944.

~~Confidential~~

No. 85.

Subject: Egyptian Press Reaction to
Republican Party Platform.

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington.

Sir:

With reference to my telegram no. 1964 of July 11, 1944 summarizing in translation the first editorial to appear in the Cairo press on the resolution respecting Palestine adopted at the Republican National Convention, I have the honor to transmit herewith translations of three editorials which have appeared since then in Al-Balagh (Wafd Party organ), Al-Dustur (a Saadist sheet, the only significant opposition paper existing under the censorship), and Minbar Al-Sharq (a non-partisan journal appearing irregularly and dealing only with Arab affairs). In addition to the above, Al-Misri on July 12 featured editorially and at some length the pro-Arab testimony given before the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate last winter by Professor Philip K. Hitti.

On the whole, the announcement of the Palestine plank has caused comparatively little flurry in local circles as compared to the controversy provoked by the Congressional Zionist Resolutions and the Wise-Silver statement of last February, fully reported by the Legation in 18 telegrams and seven despatches between February 26 and April 4. Discussions of the subject have thus far been limited to newspaper editorials which, whether they adopt the standardized Pan Arab arguments against unrestricted Jewish immigration as in Al-Mokattam and Al-Balagh or degenerate into the irrational demagoguery of Al-Dustur, show an increased understanding of American politics in general and particularly of the electoral practices that have grown out of our party system. Egyptians, whatever their station in life, are well indoctrinated in matters pertaining to bureaucracy and public office, and tend to distinguish sharply between the utterances of the actual incumbent of a high office and those of a mere candidate. The Legation has thus far received

nothing

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J. H. H.

nothing in the way of an official pronouncement by the Egyptian Government, as was the case last winter when it was handed a copy of the Aide Mémoire which the Egyptian Minister delivered to the Department, nor have other official sources, either pro-Arab or pro-Zionist brought their views on the subject to its attention. According to a current story, Nahas Pasha upon being asked if he contemplated taking any action, for the record, replied that he was too busy with other things to make a formal protest every time an American politician tried to persuade the Jews to vote for him.

There was a certain delay in releasing the full text of the Republican platform to the local press owing to the fact that the first cable received by the local Outpost of the Office of War Information from its home office omitted mention of the Palestine plank, which was subsequently learned of through Mr. C.L. Sulzberger, the New York Times' correspondent. Even after its release on July 8, a lapse of two days intervened before the news appeared in the press, a delay which at the time seemed to lend weight to the assertion made to a member of the staff by a British Embassy official that the subject had been suppressed by the Anglo-Egyptian censorship. Evidently it was subsequently decided in censorship circles that any dangerous possibilities that this controversial subject may have had were exhausted for the time being by its prolonged public airing of last winter.

Further reports will be submitted as the situation seems to warrant, particularly with respect to any resolution along similar lines which may be adopted by the Democratic National Convention.

Respectfully yours,

S. Pinkney Tuck

Enclosures:

- 1- Article from Al-Balagh
of July 10, 1944.
- 2- Article from Al-Dustur
of July 11, 1944.
- 3- Article from Minbar Al-Sharaq
of July 14, 1944.

Copy to the American Legation at Baghdad. ✓
Copy to the American Legation at Beirut.
Copy to the American Legation at Damascus.
Copy to the American Legation at Jidda.
Copy to the American Consulate General at Jerusalem.
Copy to AMREP, Algiers, for Murphy.

Sent to the Department in ozalid.
file no. SOC.
DLB/rq

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Enclosure no. 1 to despatch no. 85 of July 16, 1944,
from the American Legation at Cairo, Egypt.

Al-Balagh of July 10, 1944

The program of the American Republican Party, which is sponsoring Mr. Dewey as candidate for the Presidency of the United States has been broadcast and we have received a copy from the Office of War Information of the United States, as it was adopted by the Republican National Convention held on the 27th June. The following paragraph is contained therein:

"Palestine: In order to give refuge to millions of distressed Jewish men, women and children driven from their homes by tyranny we call for opening of Palestine to their unrestricted immigration and land ownership, so that in accordance with the full intent and purpose of the Balfour Declaration of 1917, and the resolution of the Republican Congress of 1922, Palestine may be constituted as a free democratic commonwealth. We condemn the failure of the President to insist that the mandatory of Palestine carry out the provisions of the Balfour Declaration and of the mandate while he pretends to support them."

This is the resolution of the American Republican Party and part of the platform which it is entering the fight for the presidency of the republic.

Before we discuss this program, we would point out that Palestine is the only country which has been specifically mentioned by the party out of all the countries of the Old World. It is logically understood that the fact that it is the only one mentioned is due to the pressure and efforts that Jews in America have continued to exert for some months with a view to suspending the execution of the recommendations of the British White Paper issued in 1939, which prohibits the sale of lands in certain parts of the country and allows it in other parts, subject to the approval of the High Commissioner, and forbids all further immigration except with the consent of the Arabs.

The candidate of the Republican Party, Mr. Dewey, is bound by this program issued by his Party, which he personally supported in previous declarations. This program may be considered as inimical to a friendly people at a time when the United States is engaged in a war to prevent aggression and guarantee peace, justice and freedom to all nations small or big, as well as the realization of the Four Freedoms announced by President Roosevelt and the application of the Atlantic Charter which he in conjunction with Mr. Churchill laid down and announced to the whole world and in which they stated their aims in this war.

It is not a question whether the Jews are persecuted or not, or whether they are driven from their homes or not. The crux of the matter lies in the nature of the policy announced in this program, which tends to force upon the people of one country another people, and to permit the intruding people through the power

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of the United States and her influence to obtain possession of the country by force of numbers and abundance of capital. No one ever heard of a similar example in the past, not even on the part of the Jews themselves, who never declared with such clarity their intentions, although they hoped for and never failed to work towards such an end. We do not believe that the world has ever seen a more extraordinary policy than that propounded by a party that is sponsoring its candidate for the presidency of a country which is fighting in order to put a stop to aggression in the world--and among other reasons to end the expulsion of Jews from their homes--where the basis of this policy lies in the eviction of a people from their country by another people, or in other words, the expulsion of the Arabs from their homes in order to place Jews in their stead.

What is remarkable in the matter is the contradiction in this resolution, as it would have been logical if the Jews who have been evicted from their homes should be returned to them, instead of being imposed on the people of other countries, especially since the United States is now fighting to have the injustice from which they have been suffering removed and to reestablish again justice and right.

This departure from logic and justice is evidence that the resolution voted by the Party was intentional and that it is the result of special efforts made by Jews in America which does not require further proof.

It is well known that the candidate of the Republican Party in the coming elections requires the support of the Jews with their influence in the press, the broadcasting stations and in financial circles. Although numerically they are but a small minority, yet they enjoy immense influence. However, what cannot be understood or accepted is that the Arab countries should be the price paid by the candidate and his party for this influence. If America owned Palestine, such a deal would have been even in that case barely acceptable. However, Palestine is not a possession of the U.S. or bound to her by any political tie. The U.S. never was a member of the League of Nations which had control over the policy of Great Britain and was the final arbiter in the matter.

The U.S. therefore appears as the greatest contradiction in this war. A nation that fights to remove injustice from peoples and to guarantee that justice, freedom and right are assured to all nations small or large, without distinction, that sacrifices her wealth and the blood of her sons for this purpose, and there comes a candidate for her presidency whose party announces that among its aims is the expulsion of one people from its country in order that it should be given to another, and in the name of what? In the name of justice, right and freedom!

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The text of the Palestine Mandate is quite clear as regards the protection of the interests of the Arabs and the maintenance of their rights. No one has ever said either clearly or by implication that the purpose of the Mandate was to establish Jewish supremacy over the Arabs from it. The Balfour Declaration, which is referred to in the resolution, does not go beyond promising that a National Home for Zionism will be established in Palestine; it does not foresee the making of Palestine entirely into a National Home. A National Home has in fact already been established there but when Zionism wished to go beyond this point a revolution broke out and the situation grew worse until a joint conference was held in London. When an agreement could not be reached there, the White Paper was issued in 1939 with the approval of the League of Nations. The Arabs have chosen to keep quiet during the war in order not to create new embarrassments for Great Britain and her struggle. They have volunteered and enlisted in her armies and kept loyal to their word and their friendship in contradiction to the Zionists who have resorted to terrorism and destruction as is well known.

This loyalty which the Arabs have shown to Great Britain is loyalty to the cause of the Allied Nations and among them the United States. What has been their reward? Their reward has been this extraordinary resolution.

Enclosure no. 2 to despatch no. 85 of July 15, 1944,
from the American Legation at Cairo, Egypt.

Al-Bustur of July 11, 1944

We have previously referred to the program issued by the American Republican Party in the United States in support of their candidate in the coming presidential elections. We have said that the Party included the Palestine question in its platform and supported the Zionist point of view, ignoring the rights of the Arabs.

The following paragraph was included in the platform: "We call for the opening of Palestine to unrestricted immigration and land ownership for Jews, in order to give refuge to these distressed men, women and children driven from their home by tyranny."

This tyranny, says the program elsewhere, it will fight and overcome, but it does not say that it will ward it off from the Jews by returning them to their homes from which they were forcibly expelled and where they experienced the worst kind of miseries and sufferings and were divested of all rights. All this was not stated at length in the platform, for the Party preferred to content itself with the bare statement that it desired to remedy one injustice by another injustice and that if the Nazis had expelled the Jews, the Jews should now expel the Arabs.

I wonder why the Republican Party did not ask that the war against the Nazis be stopped and that war be declared on the Arabs, or why the Party did not call on the United States to receive the Jews, a wide country with no original inhabitants since the present ones are immigrants from every country and of every religion so that there would be no objection if Zionists were given a share in this common possession.

If these are the principles of a great Party in a great democratic nation professing sound principles regarding freedom, it would be better for this nation that this Party should not obtain a single vote in the elections, so that all Americans might demonstrate that they act just as they speak and that they respect the rights of others with the same force they would use in defending their own rights.

The Republican Party itself calls in its platform for participation by the U.S. with other countries in an organization to prevent military aggression and to maintain permanent peace with or without justice in a free world.

The Party also calls on nations to respect international law and form an international tribunal to deal with justifiable disputes. Does the Republican Party consider that it has reached an equitable decision in the Palestine question when it asks that the gates of Palestine be opened to unrestricted Jewish immigration and land ownership? Is that the just and definite remedy for the military tyranny to which the Jews are now turning after they have armed themselves and carried out

repeated

repeated aggressions against the Arabs? Or is this a shameful surrender, a deviation from truth and a contradiction of the principles which the Party has voiced in redundant and empty phrases in order to impress the voters without there being in them the slightest trace of truth or justice?

We do not see any difference between the methods which the Republican Party announces in its platform and those of the Nazis which America is now fighting, methods by which their authors seek to set their feet on the land of others and place their hands in the pockets of others while they say that they are a persecuted people who wish to realize their hopes and live in peace.

If Palestine were a big and strong country, no one would have dared to bargain with its rights and sell and buy them as cheap merchandise. However, this is the real test for democratic principles which make the strong and the weak equal and do not take from one to five to another under the pressure of force, influence and money.

Palestine is nevertheless not a small and weak country; she is big and strong through the sympathy and love of her numerous sisters, and great and powerful by her rights and the partisans of those rights which will never die.

Enclosure no. 1 to despatch no. 25 of July 18, 1944,
from the American Legation at Cairo, Egypt.

Al-Minkar Al-Shari of July 14, 1944

The American Republican Party has issued an electoral manifesto in which it outlines the policy that it will follow if Mr. Dewey proves successful in the election for the presidency of the United States.

When we read this wrong and contradictory declaration we were not greatly surprised as some of the American politicians have made us familiar recently with a similar Zionist policy aimed at currying favor with the American Jews and obtaining their precious help in the coming elections.

We, however, have the right to ask the meaning of the friendship which America is attempting to foster in the Arab world through the diffusion of news. What is this extraordinary friendship? Washington knows perfectly well that there is no single Arab in Palestine or outside Palestine who will consent to be the friend of a country which has such a policy. All these endeavors can bring no result whatever if this last aim of the Republican Party or any other party is to execute what World Zionism has planned as its official policy with regard to the Holy Land. The text of the Mandate itself does not admit it, neither does the Balfour Declaration. Besides, America knows perfectly well that Palestine does not have space enough to contain an unrestricted number of such distressed people and that the opening of the country to their unrestricted immigration will only complicate the question still further.

We cannot tell nor could even a magician tell where the rights of man are or where the treaties and charters are or the lofty principles which they say they are fighting for, if the result is to be what we see and hear with regard to the killing of a people in its own country in order to replace it with another people.

The Arabs do not foster enmity towards the Jews; they fully sympathize with their problem in Europe and are grieved over the sufferings they are enduring and will welcome them as they did before, not if they come to establish themselves as a nation or as a government in the Arab lands, but if they come to work together for progress, within an Arab fatherland and under the emblem of Arab Union.

This is the opinion of the Arabs, who are the most interested party in the country. Neither Zionist pretensions nor American manifestoes nor British intrigues can make truth an error or make out of an injustice a right.

Baghdad, Iraq, August 2, 1944.

RESTRICTED

No. 381

Subject: Baghdad Press Comment on the Pro-Zionist Planks
in the Republican and Democratic Party Platforms.

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington, D.C.

Sir:

I have the honor to refer to this Legation's telegram No. 167 of July 18 and to report that the Baghdad press and educated Iraqis in general have shown considerable interest in the coming American presidential election and in the pro-Zionist planks of the Republican and Democratic party platforms.

News of the stand of the Republican party on the Palestine question reached Iraq first and there followed a press attack which accused Dewey and the Republican Party of representing the forces of reaction which were preparing to disregard the rights of the Arabs.

The most violently critical of the anti-Republican editorials appeared in the communistically inclined Al-Rai Al-Am of July 20. This article accused Dewey and the Republican party of being not only pro-Zionist, but of representing reactionary elements which are anti-Russian and lukewarm toward the British. The paragraph relating to Zionism was as follows:

"Thomas Dewey truly represents the reactionary elements (of the United States) and it is therefore clear that he will certainly uphold the course of Zionism in America, which cause is represented by the reactionary elements of American Jewry. He refuses to accept the White Paper and he is even endeavoring to have it annulled in order to win the "oppressed Jews" over to his side. He forgets the rights of a nation (Palestine) which aspires to retain its Arab characteristics and hopes to continue on the road of progress and advancement".

Reference was also made to a Herald Tribune article which had sympathized with "Nazi" Finland the country "which is collaborating with Hitlerite Germany's heinous aggression against the Soviet Union". In this connection there is some indication that pro-communist circles in Iraq are using pro-Zionist tendencies in the United States to further their aim of making Soviet Russia supplant the United States in the eyes of the Iraqis as the champion of Liberalism.

On July 26, the Al-Hawadith published an article entitled, AN ARAB IN THE AMERICAN CONGRESS, where-in it was stated that the "political platform which has been announced by the American Republican Party, preliminary to the start of the presidential campaign, has aroused Arab circles because of its grave references to Palestine and the recommendation that the Zionists be given a free hand in that country". The article went on to state that it appeared fitting in this general connection to append an Arabic translation of the testimony offered by Dr. Philip Hitti, Professor of Arabic Literature at Princeton University, to the Foreign Affairs Committee on the occasion of the examination by that Committee of Senator Wagner's resolution which had advocated unrestricted Jewish immigration into Palestine.

Following the announcement of the Republican Party platform there was considerable comment on the part of politically-minded Iraqis to the effect that Dewey and the Republican Party were pro-Zionist because their campaign was being heavily financed by Jewish funds. At this time and prior to the release of news of the pro-Zionist plank in the Democratic platform the view was expressed in these same circles that President Roosevelt, though sympathetic toward the Jews because of their severe sufferings during the war years, had decided, in his Middle Eastern policy, to be guided by American interests and not to antagonize the Arabs by taking a pro-Zionist stand on the Palestine question.

News of the Democratic party's pro-Zionist plank immediately prompted a front page editorial in the Sawt Al-Ahali of July 30, of which a translation is appended. Sawt Al-Ahali criticized both parties for their stand which had "deeply stirred Arab public opinion". The editorial referred to the statement of "certain Egyptian Government personalities" which had appeared in the publication, LE PROGRES EGYPTIEN, to the effect that neither President Roosevelt nor any American Government official has come out in favor of this pro-Zionist policy and that therefore a political party platform, which is drawn up for internal consumption, should not be a cause for alarm. The Sawt Al-Ahali editorial disagreed with this point of view and insisted that this policy, which had "arisen from American internal conditions", was also of direct and indirect concern to the Arabs of Palestine and to the whole "Arab Nation", respectively.

The article went on to point out 1) that the establishment of a Jewish national home in Palestine was by no means unanimously supported by the American people and that many American Jews were opposed to the idea; 2) that Zionism was not only detrimental to the Arabs, but opposed to the principles of freedom; 3) that all Arab Governments and institutions regarded as prejudicial to the cause of Arab Palestine any decision harmful to Palestine, whether that decision emanated from a Government, political party or any popular organization; 4) that Zionism and Fascism were alike in entertaining similar aims.

The editor concluded by expressing the hope that the forces of progress would advocate the "realization of the aspirations of Arab Palestine" and would disassociate the cause of Zionism from the sufferings of persecuted Jews.

The Sawt Al-Ahali editorial was followed up on August 2 by an even more outspoken front page Leader in Al-Akhbar, of which a translation is enclosed.

This editorial pointed out that it was now clear that American statesmen, Congressmen and the leaders of the political parties sympathized with the Zionist demands which they wished to see put into effect at the expense of the Arabs. The reasons for this American policy appeared to be:

- 1) the power and influence of the Zionist organizations in the United States;
- 2) credulous American public opinion which believes the many fallacious Zionist arguments, notwithstanding the political and legal principles behind the Arab rights - the MacMahon correspondence, the Declaration of the Seven, the Allied pledges and the Atlantic Charter;

The article went on to state that there would be wide repercussions in the Near East to this American policy; and that a Zionist solution of the Palestine problem would set at naught the principles of the Four Freedoms and of America's great statesmen of the past and defeat the purposes for which the Allies are fighting. The editorial continued by stating that such a solution of the Palestine problem would mean:

- 1) the triumph of the principles of race discrimination;
- 2) the cultural and economic annihilation of the Arabs of Palestine;
- 3) the establishment in an undeveloped country of a modern international Zionist capitalism of a type such as America now seeks to eliminate;
- 4) serious Arab unrest and a threat to peace in the vitally important Near East;
- 5) the loss of America's hitherto excellent prestige in this area.

The Legation has been informed by Judge H. I. Lloyd, Adviser to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, that the Iraqi Chamber of Deputies intends to send telegrams to Mr. Dewey and to President Roosevelt or the Chairman of the Democratic National Committee, referring to the Zionist planks in the platforms of the respective political parties and requesting that the parties carefully examine the relative merits of the Arab and Zionist claims before coming to a final decision on the Palestine question. Judge Lloyd stated that he was himself drafting the telegrams but that he intended to consult the texts of the two party statements on Zionism before sending the messages.

Respectfully yours,

Daniel Gaudin, Jr.

Enclosures:

Translation of Article appearing
in Sawt Al-Ahali of July 30, 1944

Translation of Article appearing
in Al-Akhbar of August 2, 1944

File No. 800

WFB/efg.

No.1
Enclosure/to Despatch No.
381 of August 2, 1944 from
the American Legation, Bagh-
dad.

(TRANSLATION)

Source: Sawt Al-Ahali
July 30, 1944,
Baghdad.

THE AMERICAN DEMOCRATIC AND REPUBLICAN PARTIES
AND THE QUESTION OF PALESTINE

World news reports that both the American Democratic and Republican parties have announced in their platforms for the presidential election campaign, that they support Zionist attempts to turn Palestine into a national home for the Jews.

This news has deeply stirred Arab public opinion. It appears, however, that certain Egyptian Government personalities wishing to lessen the effect of this news on the Arab public opinion, have declared in a statement to the "Egyptian Progress" That this policy was not announced by President Roosevelt himself nor by any leading American Government official but that it was a part of the party's program which was drawn up with internal political conditions in mind and which should not be interfered with, despite the keen interest (of the Arabs) in the people and future of Palestine.

We believe that this is a mistaken view which is not adequately reassuring to Arab public opinion, because this policy, which has "arisen from American internal conditions" not only concerns America in the first place but also is of vital interest to the Arab people of Palestine directly and to the Arab nation indirectly. The Arab nation must not stand with folded arms while the internal or external policy of any nation aims at exploiting another people in the interests of that nation's internal issues. If the two (Republican and Democratic) parties do not scruple to adopt all measures to win the coming elections, it would be better for them to avoid dealing with important issues and offering solutions that are inimical to the aspirations of a magnanimous people who have fought for freedom and peace alongside the democratic nations.

The establishment of a Jewish national home in Palestine is not supported by all American public opinion. In the United States there are popular societies and organizations - including an appreciable number of American Jews - which combat Zionism, expose its propaganda and danger to the cause of world freedom, and also advocate the settlement of the Palestinian question, not by sacrificing Palestine, but by promoting democratic freedom throughout the world and by ensuring a just system of Government which guarantees the rights of all, including the minorities.

The call (by the Republican and Democratic Parties) for supporting Zionism is opposed not only to the Arab viewpoint but also that of all nations fighting for freedom. He who sincerely works for freedom in his country should also promote freedom in every other part of the world because world freedom is indivisible. Consequently, the insistence of certain American circles that the cause of Zionists be upheld rouses the

Arabs and the other freedom-loving nations and is incompatible with the conscience of humanity and the future peace of the world. Moreover, in the event that the American Government becomes inclined toward such views the United States will incur great hardship and difficulties. Therefore, all governments and popular institutions in the Arab countries must regard as prejudicial to the cause of Palestine any decision that contradicts that country's rights - whether such a decision emanates from popular organizations - such as parties et cetera - or from the governments themselves. They (The Arab States) should also take all possible steps to combat such a decision (opposed to their interests) and to present their own viewpoints to those political parties or Governments and to the world public opinion with all the means at their disposal.

The Arab public opinion which feels that the future of the Arab countries is closely connected with the independence of Palestine, hopes that public opinion of the freedom-loving world will support the struggle of the Palestinian people against Zionism and regard the latter as a movement not unlike Fascism in aim and ambition. The Arab public opinion also hopes that the progressive forces of the world will resist any attempts calculated to uphold Zionism and will advocate the realization of the aspirations of Arab Palestine. It is also hoped that these forces will differentiate between the cause of the persecuted Jews and the Zionist attempts to exploit that cause in their own interests which do not differ from those of any other imperialist ambition.

TR:JNC/efg.

Enclosure No. 2 to Despatch
No. 381 of August , 1944
from the American Legation,
Baghdad.

Source: Al-Akhbar, August 2,
1944, Baghdad.

(TRANSLATION)

PARTY POLITICS IN AMERICA AND THE FUTURE OF PALESTINE
(By Ibrahim Kubba, Lawyer)

The Arab peoples have received the news of the agreement of the two great American parties regarding the settlement of the Palestinian question in favor of the Zionists with the greatest surprise.

It is now definite that America has defined a policy, through party meetings and other organizations, of final abandonment of the doctrine of American isolation and of actual interference in postwar international reorganization in the light of the charters and principles which have been officially announced to the world, especially the Atlantic Charter. It is therefore natural for the Arabs to wonder about America's political attitude towards Arab affairs, in general and the Palestinian question in particular. No official statement has yet been made to clarify the situation. But it is evident, as confirmed by recent reports, that many American statesmen, Congressmen, and leaders of the principal parties sympathise with Zionist demands and wish to implement the Balfour Declaration at the expense of the Arabs. What are the motives behind this policy?

Undoubtedly, this policy depends, in general, on the power of the Zionist organizations in America, on the great material and moral power enjoyed by their propaganda; on their overwhelming influence on leading newspapers there; and on their connections with the majority of Congressmen. To this must be added the naiveté of a large portion of American public opinion, its acceptance of Zionist fallacies as truisms calling for no refutation; its belief that the Zionist Jews are a "nation" in the accepted political and social sense; the principal of Zionist historical rights in Palestine; the validity of the Balfour Declaration; the necessity of fulfilling religious prophecies concerning Palestine; non-differentiation between the modern, mundane political Zionism and the ancient religious cultural Zionism, and between world-wide persecution of the Jews and the alleged Zionist state; the so-called economic benefits to be derived from Zionist exploitation of Palestine and other such fallacies used by the Jews in their extensive propaganda, which has won them a large section of the American public opinion. This is not the place to refute the old fallacies and to point out the natural, political, and legal principles underlying the permanent right of the Palestinian Arabs, the right which is generally supported by the nation's natural right in life and by the political rights acquired from the MacMahon correspondence, the Declaration of the Seven; and lastly the recent Allied pledges, particularly the Atlantic Charter.

However, the important factor is that this organized propaganda has actually influenced the trend of American politics. This is evidenced through the attempts of certain leading American statesmen to delay the White Paper dead-line as well as through the agreement of the two principal parties - the Republican and the Democratic - to solve the Palestinian problem in favor of the Jews, as reported some days ago.

Now, what are the repercussions of this policy in the Near East?

Indeed, one is astonished to observe that the formulators of the four freedoms should themselves to do away with the same freedoms in Palestine; that the public opinion which led the isolated continent to the most horrible and unprecedented war for the liberation of the persecuted peoples should stand with folded arms vis-a-vis the most heinous and unprecedented attempts to oppress the people of Palestine; and that the nation that produced Washington, Emerson, Jefferson, Madison, Wilson and others, whose works, writings, and poems are still guiding the free thinkers of the world, should not hesitate to flout the principles of these great men in Palestine, the Holy Land.

Is there, one wonders, a greater tragedy than this?

We would not be telling a secret if we reiterated that if this American policy were carried out in Palestine, despite its ultimate and inevitable failure, it would create instability in the Near East. The Arab nation, after its struggles and sacrifices for political unity, will abandon none of its important issues, nor will it fall an easy prey to American internal party strife, and to the Zionist elements which are influencing American public opinion.

What does the Zionist solution of the Palestinian problem represent, a solution which the American parties want to impose upon American policy?

This solution contradicts the purposes for which the Allies are waging this war.

It represents a strengthening of racial Zionism and the attainment of Zionist reactionary aims, while America is fighting to abolish racialism as a basis for solving international problems.

It represents the basic, cultural, and economic annihilation of the Arabs of Palestine, while America is fighting to defend other nations.

It represents the destruction of the political pledges and charters upon which the Palestinian Arabs depend, while America is fighting to maintain such pledges and charters elsewhere.

It represents the establishment of the most dangerous type of modern international capitalism - the Zionist capitalism - in a land which is still undeveloped from the economic and industrial standpoint, while America is fighting to exterminate the international capitalism exploitation and to bring about social and economic justice.

Finally, the consequences of this policy are clear to all. It threatens the peace in the Near East, a most important and sensitive part of the world, closely linked to the interests of the great powers. It destroys the political and moral reputation of America, a reputation still exceptionally good in the Arab East because of the praiseworthy services

contributed by its social and cultural institutions to the Arabs since the middle of the last century. It creates - Zionist state in Palestine which will threaten not only the interests, unity, and culture of the Arabs, but also the numerous interests of those powers having relations with the Arab countries. Finally, it may drive the Arabs to extremist political and social attitudes, which are desirable neither to the Arabs nor to the freedom-loving powers.

Damascus, Syria, August 3, 1944

RESTRICTED

No. 135

Subject: Reaction in Syria to Democratic and
Republican Party Planks Regarding
Palestine.

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington, D.C.

Sir:

With reference to my telegram No. 15 of July 26, 1944, reporting the critical press reaction in Damascus to the paragraphs in the Democratic and Republican Party platforms advocating the establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine, I have the honor to report that the Syrian press has continued since that date publishing editorials expressing astonishment and resentment at this action on the part of the two leading political parties in the United States, and that the unfavorable reaction on public opinion has also made itself clear. The reaction on the whole, however, has been less violent than might have been expected. Aside from editorials and articles in the press, most of the agitation has been confined to the students who have it seems been counseled by their teachers to observe moderation. It is understood that the religious sheikhs also discussed the question in the mosques last Friday and that while some were desirous of instigating demonstrations in protest they decided it would be better to be moderate, in the belief that any hostile demonstration which might get out of hand would be welcomed by the French Delegation and would be used as an excuse to delay the negotiations for the transfer of the "Troupes Speciales" to the Syrian Government.

The Legation has received two telegrams of protest. The first from Homs dated July 26 and signed by Muhammad Khald DURRAK, (who is unknown to the Legation) reads as follows:

"The inhabitants of Homs have learned with great dissatisfaction and resentment the planks of the American Democratic and Republican parties and they hope that you will inform the Zionists of the World that

the Arabs

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the Arabs will raise their bosoms as a shield against any aggression on any part of their land."

Some publicity was given to this telegram in the press which described it as emanating from a meeting attended by several thousand persons of all classes organized by the young intellectuals of Homs. The second telegram dated Suweida July 30 carries about thirty signatures, including those of some of the well-known Druze and Christian families of the Druze region, among them that of young Emir Zaid ATRASH, and reads as follows:

"The youth of the Arab Druze mountains disagree with the declaration of the American Democratic party for making Palestine a Jewish State."

The further editorials which have appeared in the Damascus newspapers have continued to emphasize the inconsistency of the Democratic and Republican planks with the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms, and most of them have also asserted that the American public should know that the Arabs are ready to shed the last drop of their blood in defense of Palestine and cannot be cowed and intimidated by statements of this nature. A number of editorials have however emphasized the necessity of organizing a strong Arab propaganda bureau in the United States in order that the American people may be adequately informed of the feelings of the Arabs concerning Palestine. Several editors also express surprise that the United States in ignoring its friendship with the Arabs should antagonize them in this manner and assert that as a result the United States is undoubtedly endangering its petroleum policy in the Middle East.

A few quotations from these editorials may be of interest. AL-QABAS says mournfully:

"The Arabs used to look to America, the originator of the Four Freedoms, with hope and expectation. But now they feel bitter despair and failure and do not know to whom they should address their complaints and in whom they should put their trust."

AL-INSHA states that it considers this new American attitude as "a descent from the peak of the greatness of American principles and the brilliancy of her democracy and position as a helper of the weak against the strong, to the level of cheap bargaining for an electoral campaign at the expense of a suffering people which for more than a quarter of a century has not ceased to struggle for its rights."

And

And FATAL ARAB declares: "It is difficult to believe that America will risk the loss of her friendship with the Arab peoples who number more than 45 millions, all having the same culture and the same civilization, in order to keep the friendship of fourteen million Jews scattered over the five continents who are neither grouped under one citizenship nor inspired by one culture or civilization".

It appears that the French press bureau in Damascus has not been displeased to have the spotlight of hostility directed towards the United States for a change, as there have been indications in some of the editorials of French inspiration. The Syrian censor cut out, however, from the French-language LES ECHOS of August 1st, the greater part of an unfriendly article concerning the Office of War Information exhibition mentioned below for the reason that the censor believed that the article was directly aimed at provoking an anti-American demonstration.

An exceptionally favorable occasion for expressing their displeasure with the Democratic and Republican planks on Palestine was by coincidence given the public of Damascus by the fact that a photographic exhibition entitled "Art for the Millions" was scheduled to be opened on July 30th under the auspices of the Office of War Information and that invitations had gone out to the Prime Minister and all prominent members of the Syrian Government and the Chamber of Deputies, stating that it was being held under the high patronage of the Diplomatic Agent. Mr. Wadsworth did in fact come to Damascus especially for the occasion; the Prime Minister and most of the high Syrian Government officials who were then in Damascus attended; and the opening, in spite of the advocacy on the part of students of a boycott, was well attended and was a considerable success. It was noticed, however, that some of the younger and more ardent nationalist deputies, some of whom have been very friendly to the United States, did abstain from attending as a sign of protest.

The steps taken to boycott the Office of War Information exhibition were, it was learned later, taken principally by a group of students who passed out tracts and also placed several hundred posters on the walls advocating such action. The tracts read in translation: "Boycott the American exhibition. America is the ally of Zionism. Palestine is Arab. Down with Zionism and its supporters." The posters, which were headed "The American Parties Revoke the Atlantic Charter - Palestine is Arab", (a translation of which is enclosed as of possible interest) expressed their indignation at the statements concerning Palestine made by two American Parties.

It appears

It appears that there was considerable discussion among Government Officials as to the attitude they should take toward the Office of War Information exhibition, but that wiser heads prevailed and it was decided that it would be unwise to offend the American Government by adopting a hostile attitude toward the exhibition, which has in fact been very successful. It is of interest to observe however that during the half hour or more which Mr. Wadsworth spent with the Prime Minister, Saadallah JABRI, at the opening of the exhibition, and again during one hour he spent with him in his office the next morning, the Prime Minister did not once mention the Democratic and Republican Party Planks and that it was not until today, as reported in my telegram No. 17 of today's date, that Saadallah Bey sent for me in order to make an oral protest in the name of the Syrian Government.

Respectfully yours,

J. C. Satterthwaite,
Chargé d'Affaires a.i.

Enclosure:

1. Translation of Poster.

File no. 840.1

JCS/gkm

Ozolid to Department
Copies to: Beirut, Jerusalem, Cairo,
Jidda, Algiers and Baghdad.

A true copy
of the signed
original.

Enclosure to despatch No. 135 of August 3, 1944 from
American Legation, Damascus, Syria

TRANSLATION

THE AMERICAN PARTIES REVOKE THE ATLANTIC CHARTER
PALESTINE IS ARAB

The Arabs still hear from time to time strange news regarding the support of the Zionist Movement in its criminal aims of colonization in trying to get Palestine away from the hands of the Arab People.

What is more strange is to see this news emanate from parties of the American Nation, which has raised the Standard of the Four Liberties and preached the Atlantic Charter in wide colourful posters, remains of which are still seen hanging on walls.....beholding the passing away of these principles, which are now buried in the depths of the Ocean on the surface of which they were issued.

Thus has Palestine become to the Americans a commodity to be sold in the market of elections for the obtention of the support of the Tyrants of Jewish capitalism and for the arrival to Presidency.

The decision of the Democratic and Republican Parties in America regarding the opening of the doors of Palestine to Zionist Imperialism and the establishment therein of a Jewish State, extracts from the souls of the Arabs all hope of seeing the Americans stand for the freedom of peoples. It causes more harm to Allied Personalities than it does to the Arabs, who know how to face those declarations with deep detestation and disdain and, in case of need, with means of struggle which have become known all the world over

Holy Palestine has always been and is still an indivisible part of the Arab World and the support of Zionism - As the American Crane Committee put it - cannot be achieved except by the force of Arms No power indeed can ever succeed in snatching Palestine from the hands of the Arabs to give it to intruders.

The Arabs, who had always offered thousands of sacrifices on the altar of the Arabism of Palestine, take a common stand today in expressing their indignation in respect to those imperialistic declarations and they appeal to the inhabitants of Damascus to boycott the American Exhibition "ART FOR MILLIONS" as a mark of this indignation

LONG LIVE PALESTINE, ARAB AND FREE.
DOWN WITH CRIMINAL ZIONISM.

The Students of Damascus.

Pass on

copy sent to
hangar to
Lougho

for the Legation, Baghdad

Cairo, August 11, 1944

UNRESTRICTED

No. 149

Subject: Transmitting Texts of Messages from
Nahas Pasha as Leader of the Wafd to
British and American Political Parties.

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington.

Sir:

Referring to my despatch no. 55 of July 15, 1944 and to subsequent reports, particularly the antepenultimate paragraph of my telegram 2281 of August 3, on the local reaction to the Palestine question, which, as the Department is aware, has been thrown into sharp relief by the wide publication of certain political pronouncements emanating from abroad, I have the honor to transmit the texts of documents addressed by Nahas Pasha, not in his official capacity but as leader of the Wafd Party, to party leaders in Great Britain and the United States.

The protest to the British Labour Party whose executive body last spring passed a resolution in favor of extending the Jewish National Home, is dated May 10, but the text did not find its way to the legation until some time later and it was only recently published by the local press in connection with Nahas' discourse at the closing session of the Senate (my 2363, August 10).

That Nahas, as party president, contemplated addressing a message to the Democratic and Republican National committeemen in the United States was suggested in my 2281 of August 3, but nothing further was learned here until the enclosed text appeared in the press yesterday.

Comments the Egyptian Gazette:

"America is a long way from Palestine and

the

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for the

- 2 -

the politicians who so glibly promise the extension of the Jewish National Home can have little conception of the harm their irresponsible vote-snatching slogans can do throughout the Middle East. It is inadmissible that the British policy in Palestine, which has been clearly defined in the White Paper, should be upset by those who have no administrative responsibility in the country.

.....

"Equally justifiable is the protest which Nahas Pasha made to the British Labour party whose Executive passed a resolution in favour of extending the Jewish National Home. This resolution was made by members who know nothing whatsoever of the Middle East but who see fit to lay down policies which will affect the lives of thousands of people.

"Moderate Arabs and moderate Jews are agreed that both races can live together under the provisions of the White Paper and that the fomenting of discord between them for ulterior motives is to be deplored. The Palestine problem cannot be solved in a day, neither can it be solved by bombs. But with goodwill on both sides and by the scrupulous observance of agreements reached between all parties concerned, there is no reason why a satisfactory solution should not be found."

Respectfully yours,

S. Pinkney Tuck

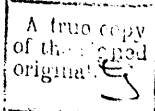
Enclosures in Ozalid.

1. Message of May 10 from Nahas Pasha to British Labour Party.
2. Message of July 31 from Nahas Pasha to Republican and Democratic Parties.

Sent to the Department in Ozalid.
File no. 800
DLG/ag

Copy sent to:

Jerusalem Jidda
Telrut Baghdad



Enclosure no. 1 to Despatch 148 of August 11, 1944
from the American Legation, Cairo, Egypt.

Text of the Protest of Mahas Pasha as
President of the Wafd to the British Labour Party.

T r a n s l a t i o n

In the name of the Wafd, authorized representative of the Parliamentary Wafd group, of the labour group, and of the Egyptian people, I have undertaken to draw the attention of the British Labour Party to the unfortunate repercussions which the report of the National Executive Committee of the party respecting Zionism has had in Palestine, Egypt, and all the Arab countries.

We are obliged to protest with all our force against the proposal which contemplates making all Palestine an exclusively Jewish and Zionist country. For the first time the intention of forcing the Arabs of Palestine to leave their country and the country of their ancestors has been publicly announced.

Such a proposal, if it ever came to be realized or even if it were only adopted, would impel the entire Arab world to rise up against the Jews and would make it realize the futility of expecting justice after the consummation of one of the greatest injustices of history.

The report against which we raise our voices goes even farther since it suggests, in order to give every advantage to the imposition of Zionism in the midst of the Arab nations, an extension of the present frontiers of Palestine by agreements with Egypt, Syria, and Trans-Jordan.

We are amazed that such a proposal should even be envisaged, and our amazement is all the greater that the idea should have come from the British Labour Party, whose struggle for the triumph of justice and the spirit of democracy has been until now a source of inspiration throughout the entire Orient for the principles of social and political justice.

In settling the Jews in Palestine one loses sight of the fact that the cause of Humanity is not being served; for, of the total number of Jews in the world, only a small minority could find refuge there, and the only result would be a widespread movement to deprive the Arabs of their rights.

At this time, when the Arab peoples have brought to the cause of the United Nations their utmost assistance, at this time when, unequivocally, they have adhered to the Atlantic Charter, at this time of universal hope for a better world, it is inconceivable that the Labour Party should adopt an idea incompatible with justice, common sense, and good politics.

There

There exist throughout the world sufficient territories to enable the refugee Jews to find generous hospitality without giving vent to political or nationalistic questions. Why is it necessary to give them Palestine which would only enable them to create at best an economically insufficient national home?

The Wafd, in the name of all Egypt and, I believe I am able to say, in the name of all Arab opinion, reaffirms its strong protest and hopes that in its plenary session the Labour Party will reject the proposal of the Executive Committee in the interests of peace in the Middle East, of Great Britain, and of the Jews themselves as well as the Arab world.

It is not up to the East, always so hospitable and cordial to the Jews to repair the errors of the West and to assist in the expulsion from Palestine of a people who, for long centuries have made this country their only home and their only reason for living and dying.

The President of the Wafd,

Moustapha El Nahas Pasha.

Cairo, May 10, 1944

Enclosure no. 2 to despatch 143 of August 11, 1944
from the American Legation, Cairo, Egypt.

Text of the Protest of Nahas Pasha as President of
the Aafd to the Democratic and Republican Parties.

T R A N S L A T I O N

In the name of the Aafd, authorized representative of the Parliamentary majority, and of the Egyptian people, I am directed to draw the attention of the Democratic and Republican Parties to the unfortunate repercussions produced in Palestine, Egypt, and all the Arab countries in general by the program respecting Palestine adopted by these Parties. We are the more constrained to protest against the resolutions in favor of Jews against Arabs, in that as the relations existing between the United States and the countries of the Middle East have been recently drawn closer together not only by common interests but also by the spreading of democratic principles. Moreover, if the above proposals should be adopted they would cause the whole Arab world to rise up against the Jews and would make them lose faith in the basic ideal of political justice.

2. Already, frank protests have been addressed on several occasions both to Washington and to London against all proposals, direct or disguised tending to give Palestine to the Jews. By its recent declarations the Republican and Democratic Parties publicly announced their intention of delivering Palestine to the Jews at the expense of the Arabs whatever their religion, be it Moslem, Christian, or Jewish.

3. We are amazed that so arbitrary a policy could have been envisaged and our amazement is even greater that the suggestion has come from the representatives of that great American people whose struggle for the triumph of right and the spread of democracy has so profoundly influenced the evolution of the world toward a state of real political and social justice.

4. In creating a Jewish commonwealth in Palestine one loses sight of the fact that the cause of Humanity is not being served, since of all the Jews in the world only a small minority could find refuge there, while this minority would be sufficient soon to deprive the Palestinians of their inviolable rights of sovereignty.

5. At this time, when the Arab peoples have brought to the cause of the United Nations their utmost assistance, at this time when unequivocally they have adhered to the Atlantic Charter, at this time of universal hope for a better world, it is inconceivable that the Palestinian people should be deprived of their land and of the land of their ancestors in order

to support a policy against which Arabs of all classes protest with a righteous indignation. There exist in the world enough territories so that the Jews without inconvenience and without giving vent to political and nationalistic questions may find a generous hospitality.

6. We cannot insist too strongly on the relations and historical importance that Palestine represents for the Moslem and Christian, Palestine where the Mosque El Aksa and so many other holy places, both Moslem and Christian, are situated, or on the deplorable effect that the abandonment of this country to the Jews would have on Moslems and Christians throughout the entire world.

7. Palestine, Egypt, and all the Arab countries united in the struggle against the unlawful invader, hope fervently that the two parties will give greater heed to the realities of the problem, and will not put into effect a measure that serves neither justice, good politics, the cause of peace, nor the Jews themselves.

Moustapha El Mahas Pasha

President of the Egyptian Wafd

Cairo, July 31, 1944.



LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
Cairo, August 11, 1944

Sir:

There is transmitted herewith for your information the text of this Legation's telegram no. 2363, August 10, to the Department, summarizing Nahas Pasha's statement on Palestine made at the closing session of the Egyptian Parliament.

Very truly yours,

J. L. Henry

Enclosure as stated.

The Honorable
Loy W. Henderson,
American Minister,
Baghdad.

840.1 - *Review*

Dept. of State

August 10, 1944

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Legation

URGENT

Last night at Senate's closing session, Prime Minister Nahas in reply to a formal question by Senator Abdel Meguid Ibrahim Saleh Pasha made an important pronouncement on Egypt's attitude toward Palestine question with special reference to electoral platforms of Republican and Democratic parties.

Senator asked quote what action has the government taken, by diplomatic and other means, respecting programs of political leaders in democratic USA which advocate ceding Palestine to Jews as National Home when for thirteen centuries that country has been an Arab patrimony unquote.

Prime Minister's answer, postponed several days by conferences in Alexandria, stressed special interest he had always taken in Arabs of Palestine and his solicitude in defending their interests. Declared he had been increasingly aware of unfavorable public opinion manifesting itself in United States, and had neglected no opportunity to protest to American Government.

Nahas then proceeded to enumerate his successive demarches:

1. In January 1943 directed Egyptian Legation to transmit to State Department his memorandum defending Arabs of Palestine and stressing
unfortunate

unfortunate effects of Zionist propaganda on Egypt and Middle East.

2. In March 1943 transmitted note to Department urging maintenance of status quo respecting immigration into Palestine, urging that persecuted European Jews emigrate to other areas capable of absorbing them.

3. In February 1944 pointed out that Congressional resolutions advocating termination of White Paper were flagrantly incompatible with principles of Atlantic Charter, submitting memorandum to this effect through Egyptian Legation Washington and also stressing unfortunate repercussions in Egypt of such measures.

4. In March 1944 transmitted a similar message to United States Government on behalf of Imam of Yemen.

5. Later, at time of officially sponsored Silver-Wise statements, exchanged views with American Minister here.

Declared that these various protests had had in some measure favorable results in that White Paper still applied and American Government had given assurances that no decision affecting Palestine would be reached without full consultation of Jews and Arabs.

Regarding declarations of Republican and Democratic parties, Kahas continued "There is no doubt that they are of the utmost importance and gravity for they indicate that American politicians have agreed that Palestine shall be torn from its rightful Arab owners who have been settled there for several centuries in order to offer it as bait to the Jews. What is particularly regrettable is that this tends to shake the confidence of

No. 2363 Aug. 10, 1944

Page 2

To Dept. of State

the confidence of the Arab peoples and of other small nations in the promises made by the United Nations and particularly the United States concerning the rights of peoples and the triumph of justice.

"However, we are not dealing with an act of government but with an electoral campaign and international law does not permit in such cases the official exchange of views by governments. That is why, although Mustapha Nahas, Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs, has not been able to take official action in this regard he has nevertheless not failed to protest strongly to the two American political parties as President of the WAFD Party and Leader of the Egyptian people".

Senator thereupon thanked Prime Minister for his enlightening address declaring that humanitarian public opinion was appalled to see the leading politicians of a great democracy making statements at variance with former promises and with that country's declared principles which for the past four years have given hope to all peoples who aspire to liberty and independence.

TUCK

Lab/dvm

hnp

Handwritten signature

Damascus, Syria, August 30, 1944.

No. 155

Subject: Protests Resulting from Democratic and Republican
Party Planks Concerning Palestine.

Restricted

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

I have the honor to refer to my telegrams Nos. 15 and 17 of July 26 and August 3, respectively, to my despatch No. 135 of August 3, 1944, and to Section 3(a) of the July Political Review for Syria (despatch No. 137 of August 7), all of which dealt with or mentioned various manifestations of official and unofficial displeasure in Syria evoked as a result of the publicity given to the Democratic and Republican Party Planks on Palestine.

Another protest on the same subject was presented to me in written form by Hassan Bey al-Hakim, former Prime Minister of Syria, on August 4, 1944. A translation of Hassan Bey's communication, which was addressed to the Diplomatic Agent, is enclosed.

Briefly, the former Prime Minister begins by recalling President Wilson's speech of July 4, 1918, continues with a mention of his 14 points, and then really warms up to his subject by bringing in everything from the Arabs' historical claims to Palestine to their present orchards and livestock in that country.

He then goes on to say how "astonished" the Arabs were, and how they found in the declaration (plank) "a shameful demolishing of the principles of the Atlantic Charter", a "screaming aggression" and a "severe oppression". He terminates the two and one-half pages of solid Arabic script by urging the Diplomatic Agent to transmit the paper to the American Government in order to awaken the conscience of the good American nation and confirm the Arabs' claim to Palestine while rejecting Jewish claims which can only be justified by "Jewish wealth and the Jewish press".

Hassan Bey, I would point out at this juncture, called on me without an appointment to present his protest. I informed him when accepting it that I did so only as coming from a private citizen, adding that official Syrian views on the matter must come through the proper channels, and made no comment as to what disposition I would make of it. For the Department's information, Hassan al-Hakim at present holds no post in the Syrian Government, having recently been removed, presumably on grounds of inefficiency, as Director of the Syrian Agricultural Bank.

Like most Arabs, he has no aversion whatsoever to fishing in troubled waters if by so doing he can get a few public kudos for himself. He appears however to have had little or no success in this respect in the present instance as no reference to his visit

to

840.1 - *Division*

to the Legation or to his communication has been noted in the Syrian press.

In a letter dated August 10, the Legation was given the benefit of the views of one Michel Aflak, who informed the Diplomatic Agent on behalf of the "Arab Resurrection Bureau" that the Arabs found in the Democratic and Republican planks an "obstacle to their friendship and understanding with America". He stated further that the American stand concerning the Palestine question has utterly killed Arab hopes and has shown the world in general and the Arabs in particular that the old system of politics is still functioning, that "all these high principles and new doctrines are nothing but tools to be employed in the hands of Europeans or Americans for reaching their aims." A translation of this letter is also enclosed.

The Legation has heretofore been unaware of the existence of an "Arab Resurrection Bureau" though Michel Aflak is known, as is ex-Prime Minister Hassan al-Hakim mentioned above, to be a gentleman of no particular occupation, which may recall to the Department the words of T.E. Lawrence in "The Seven Pillars of Wisdom" concerning such Syrians: "Their ideal was ease in which to busy themselves with others' affairs."

The Department has been informed, in my telegram No. 19 of August 20 and my despatch No. 150 of August 24, 1944, of protests of the same nature which emanated from the Lawyers' Congress, the only other manifestations of Arab displeasure that have come to the attention of this Mission, aside from those mentioned in the telegrams and despatches referred to in the opening paragraph of this despatch.

Respectfully yours,

J. C. Satterthwaite
Charge d'Affaires a.i.

- Enclosures: 1. Translation of Protest
of Hassan al-Hakim.
2. Translation of Protest
of "Arab Resurrection Bureau".

840.1
WJP/JOS/wjp.

Copies to: Beirut, Jerusalem, Baghdad,
Cairo, Jidda and Algiers.



Enclosure No. 1 to despatch No. 155 of August 30,
1944 from American Legation, Damascus

TRANSLATION

His Excellency the American Diplomatic
Agent in Syria.

Excellency:

The American Government is not responsible for declarations of principles, made by other Governments regarding the freedom of nations, but it is however responsible for what is issued by responsible Americans in this respect. Thereupon if I protest in my present memorandum at the declaration regarding Palestine that was issued by the American Democratic Party, I base myself on what was proclaimed by men of high principles:

(1) President Wilson declared in a speech pronounced on July 4, 1918, the following principle as one of the aims for which the Allies were fighting at that time:

"The solution of any problem whether it concerns lands, sovereignty or economic or political affairs, should be based upon the acceptance of people concerned and not on the material interest or the advantage to any power or nation requiring such solution for extension of its influence or sovereignty."

(2) Wilson's well-known 14 points.

(3) The declaration of the American Plebiscite Committee sent by the Allies to this country in 1919 that reported summarily:

"The fundamental Zionist demands concerning their rights in Palestine are based on the fact that they occupied this country two thousand years ago. This claim is unsound."

The creation of a National Home for the Jews in Palestine does not mean the transformation of Palestine into a Jewish Country. There cannot be created a Jewish Government therein, unless there is discrimination in civil and religious rights to the disadvantage of non-Jewish communities living in Palestine. Therefore nothing should be done to diminish these rights.

Jewish immigration to Palestine should be restricted and methods tending to create Jewish Government in Palestine should be discontinued.

There is no outstanding reason for not joining Palestine to Syria

(4) The

(4) The Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms declared by President Roosevelt.

The Arabs of Palestine who have lived there for many centuries, who hold the majority of lands, orchards and livestock, the Arabs who believed in these declarations and these liberal principles trusting deeply in the Atlantic Charter, have refused utterly the creation of a National Home for the Jews in Palestine. The Arabs believe that there is no force in the world that could, after the declaration of these principles and Charter, deprive them of their rights in Palestine, which is their country historically and actually. The Arabs, Moslems and Christians never agreed before on a matter, as they agree on the rejection of this Home, and the Arab World has never accepted a problem as they now unanimously agree on supporting and helping their brethren, the Arabs of Palestine, in their struggle against Zionism.

Therefore the Arabs were astonished and all disliked this important declaration newly adopted by the American Democratic party on the occasion of nominating President Roosevelt for the Presidency which encouraged an unlimited Jewish immigration, and unrestricted colonization, thus advocating a policy that would result in the creation of a Jewish democratic power. The Arabs find in this declaration a shameful demolishing of the principles of the Atlantic Charter, a screaming aggression on the rights of the peaceful people of Palestine, and a very severe oppression. I urge the great American people, who established their vast domains by methods of justice and morals, which were also the reason for their growth, prosperity and greatness, to prevent their government from adopting such an oppressive policy which is based fundamentally on an internal party problem. However if the Democratic Party succeeds in the realization of what it decided - may God wish not - its success will hurt grievously the Arab-American relations and lead to results such as:

(1) The loss of the good reputation gained by America in the Arab World; Arab loss of confidence in the Atlantic Charter and in the high principles advertised by America in this time of War as respects nationalism, the right of self-determination, and the maintenance of justice and honor.

(2) The wounding of the hearts of tens of thousands of Arabs who emigrated to America and took it as their second home, and the wounding of the hearts of their children who fight in the lines of the American Army and are proud to pretend that they are fighting for the rights and freedom of nations.

(3) The American economic interest in the Middle East will be affected as this interest needs the friendship of Arabs and their leaders.

Finally

Finally, the success of the Party above-mentioned in the realization of Zionists demand, will place a peaceful nation (angry and irritated at the same time) face to face with an unlimited Jewish immigration and continuous political, economic and social pressure to deliver its country to a Jewish power, which though pretending to be lawful will always tend to threaten the peace demanded by the Allies.

The victories in the battlefields of politics and war will remain deficient if not crowned with humanitarian victories rendering good to all small nations. I am sure that the American Government, presided over by President Roosevelt the Great, will not molest the sacredness of the Atlantic Charter and other high liberal principles, which were advertised as factors to be considered in the Arab problem. I present this memorandum as a protest against the decision of the American Democratic Party regarding Palestine asking you to be good enough to transmit it to the honorable American Government, and seize this opportunity to awaken the conscience of the good American Nation in order to confirm our brethren the Arabs of Palestine in their just claims, and to reject the unfounded Jewish claim that is not justified except by Jewish wealth and the Jewish press.

Please accept, Excellency, my highest consideration.

Damascus,

Shaban 15, 1363 equal to August 4, 1944

Signed: Hassan Hakim
Ex Syrian Prime Minister

Tr: JD/WJP/gkm

Enclosure No. 2 to despatch No. 155 of August 30,
1944, from the American Legation, Damascus, Syria.

Translation

His Excellency the American Diplomatic Agent in Syria:

The decisions taken recently by the Democratic and Republican parties in America regarding the opening of Palestine to unrestricted Jewish immigration are considered by the Arabs as an aggression by America against their rights that is not less in effect than that of the Balfour Declaration aggression by the British. The Arabs find in them an obstacle to their friendship and understanding with America.

The Arab nation during this war has remained optimistic, in spite of its painful experiences in the past of European colonization and deception. It hoped this time that the new element of the American principles, for which Americans fight, might be an element that would change European policy. The recent American stand concerning the Palestine question has utterly killed these hopes and has shown to the world in general and to the Arabs in particular that the old system of politics is still functioning, that all these high principles and new doctrines are nothing but tools to be employed in the hands of Europeans or Americans for reaching their aims.

If we at present call the Americans to remember their principles and official pacts, it is not that we insist on our right in these matters, but because we, the Arabs, have in Palestine a natural and historical right since thousands of years of struggle and continuous fruitful activities; but we fear that Zionist capitalism may deceive the Americans with propaganda and, by deceiving them, make them think that in their actions toward Palestine they are helping justice and civilization and the execution of their principles in this corner of the Arab world, when they are not.

The Arab world, and behind it the Moslem world, do not consider this universal peace for which the Allied Nations struggle is a true peace while their rights even now are usurped and molested. They consider that there will be no peace with them unless their rights are restored.

The Arab Resurrection Bureau, which speaks for the Arab peoples, protests at the stand taken by America regarding Palestine, and prays Your Excellency to present its protest to other official authorities.

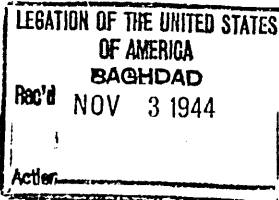
(Signed) Michel Aflak
for the Arab Resurrection Bureau

Damascus, Shabann 21, 1363, or,
August 10, 1944.

AIRGRAM

Despatched OCT 31 1944

FROM
Cairo Legation
October 31, 1944
RSC'D:



Unrestricted

Secretary of State
Washington.

A-568, October 30, 3 a.m.

With reference to my A-566, October 19, 4 p.m. and my A-578, October 23, 4 p.m., the local press continues to feature discussion on recent statements made by prominent Americans regarding Palestine.

Al-Misri of October 23 carried a despatch from Jerusalem reporting an interview of the Palestine newspaper Al-Bifan with His Highness the Amir Abdallah of Trans-Jordan. In this article the Amir was quoted as saying:

"Mr. Stimson's recent declaration regarding past military considerations carries no weight, for that so military considerations have to do with a political problem? The new factor in the matter is the awakening of Arab public opinion in the world. I believe that if present military considerations no more affect the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine, economic considerations will play an important role. Kings and chiefs of Arab States will do well to refrain from giving concessions to people who do not respect Arab rights."

On October 23 Al- and Al-Masri announced its intention to boycott American news releases in the following statement:

"In view of the declarations made by President Roosevelt and Mr. Dewey, candidates of the Democratic and Republican Parties for the Presidency of the United States, regarding the question of Palestine and the Jewish National Home--declarations which support Zionism--the Syrian and Lebanese newspapers have decided to refrain from publishing news of the American Office of War Information and every other

news

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Cairo/A-53p

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news concerning the American policy and American interests in the Near East.

"Egypt being solidly bound with its sister Arab countries in upholding the cause of the Arabs of Palestine, this paper has decided to refrain henceforth from publishing any news concerning American policy or any declaration made by American statesmen in this regard. It will also refrain from publishing news of the American Office of War Information."

Al-Nad Al-Masri headlined its leading article of October 24 with "Arabs Boycott America." Commenting on President Roosevelt's statement the paper said:

"No declaration has ever vexed the Arabs of Palestine as the President's recent declaration, its value being derived from the fact that it emanates from a man who is the chief of a democratic country fighting to free the world."

Al-Balagh of the same date also added its voice to the protests and likens the unanimity of the Arab countries on this subject to that which existed at the time of the Lebanese crisis.

The Egyptian Gazette in an editorial on October 25 cautioned the Arabic press and stated that:

"While it is possible to appreciate Arab annoyance at the American use of the Palestine question to attract votes in the Presidential election, we hope in their own interests that they will not pursue the plan to boycott American news for this would be a very short-sighted policy."

"Arab leaders frequently complain that their case is improperly understood and frequently misrepresented abroad, so that if they are not going to close their eyes and ears to what a great power like the United States is saying and doing the black-out or knowledge will be complete. Also, they should not forget that boycotts often develop into reciprocal affairs and in the end the Arabs would certainly be the losers."

"In our opinion they would be much better advised to give more and not less space to American news for only in that way will the Arab peoples understand something of the complexities of foreign affairs

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CONFIDENTIAL

and the trend of public opinion abroad. In this modern world it is impossible to live in a news vacuum and the Arabs should adopt the slogan of a leading American Journal 'All the news that's fit to print' even if it is sometimes unpleasant."

Al-Balagh on October 26 featured an interview which its correspondent had with Sami al-Rikbi, Deputy of Leirat and former Lebanese Prime Minister, quoting him as saying:

"It is sad to hear, every now and then, declarations in favor of the Jews of Palestine at the expense of the Arabs of that country. It is also sad that statesmen, in England and America, should only listen to the Jews, for if they would listen to Arabs also they would change their views. There is no doubt that Arabs in general desire to collaborate with the Allies, both politically and economically, on the condition that their political rights should be respected."

On the same date it replied to the editorial in the Egyptian Gazette and after reiterating its views on the Palestine question stated:

"If the thought of boycotting news indicates anything it indicates the deep effect which these declarations occasioned among Arabs. It is possible for us to reassure our colleague who has given Arabs this advice as to the result that may be expected from this idea, in that it will result rather in the increase of Arab news that will reach Americans than the boycott of American news in Arab countries."

Al-Nafid Al-Masri of October 27 also took up the cudgels against the Egyptian Gazette as follows:

"We would like to tell our contemporary that the decision we have adopted has been after a long and well-pondered examination of the question, irrespective of material gains or losses. Our policy has always been to defend Palestine or, in a truer sense, to defend the cause of the Arabs. For we cannot be loyal to that cause if we allow ourselves to be channels for propagating American declarations tending to enslave Arabs, disperse their families and colonize their country. We would never accept that Palestine should be sacrificed on the altar of Zionism; and as America has adopted a pro-Zionist policy, repudiating its old and modern principles; and as Zionism controls American affairs, directs American policy and dictates

its

China/AS-010

-4-

its orders to American leaders and politicians who discard their pledges to the Arabs and the promises they made to them when they needed their sympathy and collaboration; and so long as this is the policy which America intends to adopt, we will not change our decision but will continue to boycott American news."

Concluding one of the most strongly worded articles yet to appear in the local press this paper contends:

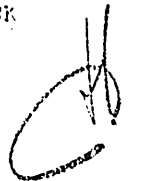
"Palestine is Arab and Palestine will remain Arab in spite of the United States. Good may sometimes result from evil and evil in this case turns us to be on our guard."

While it is yet too early to judge the effect of this campaign, which has so far been confined to the Arabist press, the situation has caused some concern to the local Office of War Information. Up to the present time the only paper to refuse OWI releases has been Al-Nad Al-Masri, which has a comparatively small circulation. However, the situation is one which might eventually produce unfavorable repercussions and I will therefore continue to report.

Repeated to Baghdad, Beirut, Damascus and Jerusalem.

TUCK

CHM/rq



Despatched

FROM

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES
OF AMERICA
BAGHDAD

to Legation
November 7, 1944
in C.D.

Unrestricted NOV 9 1944

Secretary of State
Washington

A-599, November 7, 9 a.m.

Certain sections of the local press continue to discuss recent American declarations on Palestine, as reported in my A-566, October 19, 4 p.m., A-578, October 23, 4 p.m. and A-588, October 30, 9 a.m.

Al-Misri of October 28, in a despatch from its Alexandria correspondent, stated that the Egyptian Chamber of Commerce in that city had received a telegram from the President of the Seventeenth Conference of Arab Chambers of Commerce which was held at Jaffa, appealing to the Egyptian Chamber of Commerce to boycott the American Economic Mission. A despatch from Jerusalem was also featured, outlining the steps which the Palestinian Arab Party was taking to present its case to other Arab countries.

Al-Wafd Al-Masri of October 29 continued its campaign, and featured an article entitled: "Palestine Appeals to Arab Kings for Defense Against American Declarations," and after discussing the activities of the Palestine Arab Party states:

"It is not for us to indicate the policy to be adopted by the Arab countries, but Palestine is now appealing for help and she is in dire and urgent need of it. We must not forget the effective consequences that a joint declaration of these countries will have in this matter and Palestine will feel that her neighbors are all standing ready to back her."

Al-Wafd Al-Masri of October 31 devoted three articles to the Palestine problem. The first reproduced the declaration of Amir Abdullah of Trans-Jordan (See my A-588 of October 30, 9 a.m.). The second was an unsigned article calling for the cooperation of Arab countries in the defense of Palestine against Zionist ambitions. The third is an article which appears to be an editorial, entitled "Poor Palestine Between Smugglers Gangs and Zionist Influence." Discussing the part money plays in politics the paper states:

"In

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"In certain countries where parliamentary governments are established, there exists gangs who wish to see their policies predominate and their interests furthered over others as we now witness in the country of Uncle Sam, the elections for the Presidency fall under the influence of Zionists who have made Palestine the price to be paid for the Presidential chair.

"President Roosevelt in his fight for a fourth term has found himself forced to ask for Zionist support as he could not find enough force in his past achievements, his conduct of the war, his various services to the democratic cause and his party's organization to rely on, but he had to have recourse to Zionists help!

"Roosevelt forgot all about the Atlantic Charter, forgot his previous utterances, his engagements towards himself, towards Americans, towards the democracies and his statements on the debt due to the Arabs and to the Moslem world for their help to the Allied cause and promised to the Jews that Palestine shall become theirs, as if Palestine was a village that belonged to him, and the Arabs his serfs.

"These same promises were also made by Mr. Dewey who is only the Republican Party's nominee in the battle for the Presidency. In fact he has had nothing to do with the war, yet he also promises Palestine to the Jews and thus Palestine has become the price to be paid for by either of the candidates to the Presidency."

Al-Misri of November 1 quoted at length from an editorial said to have been published in the Syrian paper Al-Insha warning of the "Jewish menace" to the Arab world.

In its issue of November 2, Al-Misri again gave much space to the Palestine question. Despatches from the paper's correspondents in the Lebanon and Palestine were printed. Also a leading article under the heading: "Roosevelt's Turn After Balfour," published by the Palestine paper Al-Difaa was quoted at length.

It will be noted that the press campaign has now become confined almost entirely to the two Zionist organs, Al-Misri and Al-Nafa Al-Masri, who are obviously beating the political drum for all it is worth.

Repeated to Baghdad, Beirut and Jerusalem.

TUCK

CHM/rq

Damascus, Syria, November 1st, 1944.

No. 193

Subject: Syrian Protests Against American Support of Zionism
in Palestine on Anniversary of Balfour Declaration.

RESTRICTED

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

1/ With reference to my telegram no. 31 of November 3, 4 p.m., 1944, concerning the demonstrations that were held in Damascus on November 2 last, the 27th anniversary of the Balfour Declaration, I have the honor to enclose a translation of a communication left at the Legation on that day by a committee purporting to represent the graduates of institutions of higher learning in Damascus, addressed "To their comrades, the graduates of institutions of higher learning in the United States". The members of this committee who called, among whom were graduates of the American University at Beirut and of universities in the United States, requested me to forward this document to American college groups. This I politely declined to do. I have not learned whether this group will endeavor to forward the document to the United States by some other means.

2/ There is also enclosed a translation of a communication handed to me by another group which called on that date representing the "Damascus Committee of Protest Against Zionism". This group included some of the leading deputies, journalists and professional men of Damascus, and the Secretary, Abdulkader Midani, who has signed the communication and who presented it in person, is also the Secretary of the Syrian Bar Association. Among the members of this committee who called were Najib Nayess, publisher and editor of AL QABAS, Wajih Haffar, publisher of AL INHAA, and Khaled Bagdash, head of the Communist party of Syria and the Lebanon.

3/ Another committee purporting to represent "The Damascus Institute Students" also left a document, a translation of which is enclosed. The reference in paragraph three thereof to a strike of Damascus students is believed to be somewhat exaggerated as it is understood that the opening sessions of Damascus schools were purposely delayed until November 4 in order to avoid demonstrations on the anniversary of the Balfour Declaration. The students did however endeavor to carry out a strike and to close up the city two days later, but there was a notable lack of enthusiasm and the most that they could do was to force the closure of some shops for a period of not more than two hours.

The representatives of the one hundred or more Moslem law students who, as mentioned in my telegram of November 3, marched to the Legation did not leave any written protest. It was apparently their hope to make a number of speeches outside the Legation. We were able to avoid

this

84011 - Jerusalem

this however by sending word that I would receive a small committee which, although apparently composed of some of the more fanatical anti-Zionists, was entirely polite in making its protests.

Translations of telegrams sent the Legation by the "Moslem Youth Association", the "Pan Arabists" and "The Moslem Brethren of Hama" are also enclosed.

During the last two weeks of the electoral campaign in the United States, and in anticipation of the anniversary of the Balfour Declaration, the press, as indicated in my telegram no. 30 of October 27, devoted the larger part of its editorial space to vigorous attacks on the statements of various American candidates advocating a Jewish commonwealth in Palestine. The point most persistently stressed continued to be that such action would be contrary to the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms. As indicated in that telegram, it was generally believed in well-informed circles that this campaign was receiving active encouragement on the part of the British press authorities in the hope that Arab anger over the Palestine situation would be thus directed away from the British.

In addition to the many points and arguments previously reported, AL QABAS asks in one of its numerous editorials on the subject what can be expected when the war is ended if we shall then find Palestine so Jewish that the Jewish banner will be flying over the grave of Christ and the Mosque of Omar. Why, this paper inquires further, are the Arabs to be made to pay for Nazi oppression of the Jews?

AL KIFAN bases one of its editorials on the subject of "The Rights of the Jews and the Negro Problem in America" in which the editor argues that the Arabs have never interfered with the negro problem in the United States nor asked the Americans to make a home there for the negroes of the rest of the world; this being the case, should not the Americans settle their own negro problem before endeavoring to settle the Jewish problem by imposing the Jews on the Arabs?

AL INSHA makes the suggestion that if the Americans are so fond of the Jews they should give them one of the American republics where they could establish a Jewish commonwealth and still remain their close neighbors. Another of its editorials states: "The Arabs have not yet lost their hope in international justice and the conscience of the world. Great Britain represents a large portion of international justice and her conscience makes up a large part of that of the world. She is the only power knowing the problem of Palestine to the last detail, and is our refuge and hope."

Aside from the bitterness of the editorials, however, the strength of the reaction in the country on the whole to the statements in defense of a Jewish commonwealth made by American candidates, especially those of President Roosevelt and Governor Dewey, was much less violent than was to be expected according to some Syrian observers of long experience. The Legation's veteran dragoman, for example, states that the demonstrations of November 2 were the quietest of any that he remembers and can stand no comparison with the violence of those of the years immediately following the Declaration.

Respectfully yours,

J. C. Satterthwaite
Chargé d'Affaires a.i.

Enclosures:

1. Translation of Protest from Graduates of Institutes of Higher Learning
2. Translation of Protest from Damascus Committee
3. Translation of Protest from Students of Damascus
4. Translation of Telegram from Damascus
5. Translation of Telegram from Pan-Arabists, Damascus
6. Translation of Telegram from Hama

(Enclosure No. 1 to despatch No. 193 of November 16,
1944 from American Legation, Damascus)

TRANSLATION

From the Graduates of Institutes of Higher Learning
in Damascus, Syria

To Their Comrades,

The Graduates of Institutes of Higher Learning in the
United States.

Greetings:

In the name of science, whose banner we all support,
we call upon you - far from the disturbances of electoral
campaigns and their maneuvers - to listen to the voice of
the Arabs on the following points concerning the Palestine
problem:

1) The coming victory of Democracy, in which you,
the youth of the new world have participated in a manner
consistent with your courage and the wealth of your
country, will wipe out once and for all Fascism, Nazism
and Racism and all that these creeds have brought with
them as regards past persecution of the Jewish race.
This victory will further restore to every Jew his rights
as a citizen in the country of his birth. There will be
no Jewish problem nor any reason for creating a special
home country for them to gather in.

2) In an era of nationalism, international under-
standing and leagues of nations, justice cannot accept
the establishment of a national home on the basis of
sectarianism, religion or racism, with particular re-
ference to the Zionist National Home.

3) The project of the Zionist National Home is a
failure. Its apparent progress is due to the capital,
devotion and subsidies of wealthy Jews and others who
are deceived by Zionist propaganda, as well as to the
extraordinary circumstances of the war.

4) A Jewish area in this large Arabian territory
would be a cause for endless riots, revolutions and other
disturbances, and the universal peace for which you have
sacrificed the best you possess will never be established
in that Arab country which is so dear and so holy to all
religions, without uprooting the Jewish hold thereon.

5) Palestine is a small strip of land which could
not support all the Jews of the world even if its right-
ful Arab inhabitants were forced to abandon it.

Oh youth of America! Oh Grandsons and citizens of
Washington, Lincoln and Wilson:

It is not reasonable that in a world which is en-
lightened by the torch of the Atlantic Charter and which

believes

believes that the Four Freedoms are leading lights that a foreign community should be forced upon a peaceful nation in its homeland.

We have no doubt that you will support the right cause in the end, and we hope that we shall both have a basic view that will coincide insofar as the Palestine problem is concerned. If there should be any other solution, we would be very happy and grateful if you would please communicate it to us.

We invite representatives of your associations, alumni and societies to visit our country to become just witnesses and welcome guests.

The Arab, who never forgives the alien aggressor, welcomes the honorable guest.

The Administrative Committee

Tr. JD/WJP

Enclosure No. 2 to despatch No. 193 of November 15, 1944
from American Legation, Damascus

TRANSLATION

of Protest from the Damascus Committee
for the Struggle Against Zionism

His Excellency the Consul of the American Republic:

The Committee for the Struggle Against Zionism finds that its duty on this day, the 27th anniversary of the regretted Balfour Declaration, is to protest against the repeated declarations which so generously offer to establish Jewish power in Palestine and to open the door of that province of Arabia to mass Zionist immigration. The Committee, in the name of Arab Syria which considers Palestine a dear part of its own country, therefore presents its earnest protestation at these statements which encourage Zionism in its aggression on the principles of right and justice. The Balfour Declaration was by itself the kernel of aggression against this dear Arab country.

The Committee for the Struggle Against Zionism expresses by its protest the general feeling which now dominates the souls of tens of millions of Arabs who are distributed in the corners of the Orient and Occident. Zionism really means war to these millions of Arabs, a danger pointing directly at them and their national, political and economic existence. This danger has already materialized in the forcing of the Arabs of Palestine out of their homes and country, forcing them out of the lands of their fathers and grandfathers, and by making them a people without a country.

We do not fear Zionism for itself because we believe it will fail before the Arab struggle to hold Palestine and before the solid Arab front, and especially before the liberals throughout the world who hold fast to the principles of honor and right and who dislike colonization policies that allow the strong to force themselves on the weak, something which disagrees with the simplest doctrines of democracy for which millions of people are dying.

We are sure that Palestine will remain Arab, liberal and independent under democratic principles, but meanwhile the support of Zionism by some Great Powers creates a distrust for future centuries and makes hopeless the application of the principles of right, justice and freedom.

We register, on this bitter occasion, the protest of the country against this aggressive policy, and we hope you will present it to your honorable Government, and we pray that it will stand on the side of right, justice and liberty by supporting the Arab demand to stop Zionist immigration to Palestine completely and to cancel the Balfour Declaration.

Sgd. Abdulkader Midani

Secretary of the Damascus Committee
for the Struggle Against Zionism

Tr. JD/WJP

(Enclosure No. 3 to despatch No. 103 of November 15, 1944, from American Legation, Damascus)

TRANSLATION

of Protest from Students of Damascus Institute

Our cries and protestations have always been heard whenever the Palestine problem and hated Zionism is discussed. The Arabs of Palestine have defended their lands and liberty and spent their blood in their struggle against Zionism and any other colonization policy that may tend to demolish Arab national prestige.

The democratic world has had a great affliction, the misfortune of war, from which the Arabs hope for a better world and a new day of peace in which liberty and justice will be realized. The United Nations have shed the blood of their children in the field of honor for the sake of assuring the realization of these principles as outlined in the Atlantic Charter and in other conferences relating to the Four Freedoms and the right of peoples to decide their own destiny.

At this decisive period in the history of humanity, it pains the Arabs to see the Palestine cause made an electoral bargain and to see the American party leaders permit the Jews to hope that the doors of Palestine will be opened for a Zionist immigration with promises that they will have a free hand in that tortured land. This is an ugly retreat in the policies of the parties of a nation which took on itself the defense of the principles of equality and liberty, and it is also a clear abandonment of the high principles and noble aims for which it participated in the war.

The Damascus students strike on this day in remembrance of Balfour's Declaration and similar declarations, whether international or party policy, which supported the creation of a Zionist state in a country which is purely Arab and is determined on its independence and nationalism. Palestine has been Arab since the dawn of history, and purely Arab for more than thirteen centuries. Its inhabitants are Arabs, while the Jews, until the beginning of this century, were a minority of 5%. Their increase in numbers and the recent success of the Zionist movement is due partly to political circumstances created by irregular social questions in Europe. We doubt that the Earth is so narrow that it cannot hold this vagabond group unless it is imposed on miserable Palestine in which country the Zionists desire to make a stage for conspiracies and activities that would threaten the Arab world and universal peace.

We present this crying protest to the representatives of the United Nations demanding that Arabism in Palestine be assured and Zionist immigration prohibited, as well as the realization of other promises which have been made to the Arab countries.

The Damascus Institute Students.

Tr. JD/WJP

(Enclosure No. 4 to despatch No. 193 of November 16, 1944, from American Legation, Damascus)

TRANSLATION

of Telegram from Damascus

November 1, 1944

The Association of Moslem Young Men and the Youth of Mohammed, may God pray on him, Salute you!

We dislike the Balfour Declaration and the declarations of the leaders of the two American parties regarding the permitting of Zionist immigration to Palestine which is an Arab country, which is Moslem, and which belongs to the children of Arabs. It will never be separated from the Arab Union, and will never be a refuge to foreign vagabonds like the Zionists.

For the Moslem Youth Association:

Sgd. Mamedouh Hafez

Tr. JD/WJP

(Enclosure No. 5 to despatch No. 192 of November 15,
1944, from American Legation, Damascus)

TRANSLATION

of Telegram from Damascus, dated November 2, 1944

His Excellency the American Minister Plenipotentiary,
Damascus

On this day of every year since the announcement of the Balfour Declaration, the Arabs in all countries raise their voices in protest against this aggression and challenge to Arab Palestine. The Balfour Declaration and any other promise given to the Zionists at the expense of the Arabs equals in aggression and enmity that of Fascism toward humanity and liberty. Such declarations cause innocent bloodshed and animosity in a land that is an Arab possession, and Palestine will never be anything except Arab. Any such declaration is met by the Arabs with indignation and dislike and any attempt to enforce them will cause bloodshed. The Pan-Arabists pray Your Excellency to transmit this protest to the competent authorities of your Honorable Government. Accept, Excellency, their best respects.

sgd. Mounir Baky
Secretary of the Pan-Arabists.

Tr. JD/WJP

(Enclosure No. 6 to despatch No. 193 of November 16,
1944, from American Legation, Damascus)

TRANSLATION

of Telegram from Hama, dated Nov. 11, 1944

Balfour Declaration and the opening of Palestine
to Zionist immigration are against the principles of
peace. We are disappointed at this aggressive act,
which is contradictory to Arab nationalism.

Md. Dr. Nuras Abdulrazzak
Chairman of the Moslem Brotherhood
of Hama

Tr. JD/WJE

Baghdad, Iraq, November 16, 1944.

UNRESTRICTED

No. 510

Subject: Baghdad Arabic Press Publishes the Texts of Telegrams Sent to American Party Leaders by Presidents of Iraqi Houses of Parliament Protesting Pro-Zionist Statements.

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington, D.C.

Sir:

I have the honor to report that on November 12 (November 14 in Al-Iraq) the Baghdad Arabic press published the full texts of the telegrams, of which copies are enclosed, sent by the Presidents of the Iraqi Senate and Chamber of Deputies on October 19 to Mr. Dewey and on November 9 to the Iraqi Minister in Washington for transmittal "to the Presidents of both the Democratic and Republican Parties" protesting against the Pro-Zionist statements of those American personalities.

On this occasion all papers with the exception of An-Nida and Al-Iraq published identical comments which pointed out that:

1. The pro-Zionist pronouncements in America had left a disagreeable impression on the Iraqi and Arab peoples and that a wave of resentment had swept the Arab World.
2. The nation desired to give expression to its feelings on this subject and the voice of the Iraqi people had spoken through the Presidents of the Iraqi Houses of Parliament.

The comment of the Al-Iraq was similar. The paper added, however, that it had been hoped that the protests sent to America in February 1944 on the occasion of the Wagner Resolution would have made clear the Arab position, and that the Americans would not again anger their Arab friends whose friendship was "indispensable" to them.

The Conservative and strongly Arab Nationalist An-Nida published the strongest condemnation of the pro-Zionist statements of American Party leaders of which a translation is enclosed. Among the ideas expressed in this article are the following:

Handwritten note: 2-1-78

1. Iraq and the Arab World are indignant at the pro-Zionist statements of the American Party leaders which unjustly ignore the rights of the Arabs who are Allies and valuable contributors to the War Effort.
2. American statesmen who profess an interest in the upholding of "justice and the rights of nations" are violating their own principles by advocating the "ruthless tyranny" of taking from the Arabs a "sacred land" which has been inhabited by them for centuries.
3. The Arabs will be "prepared against any act" to take Palestine from them and the Iraqi people will no longer keep silent on this subject. The protests of the Presidents of the Iraqi Houses of Parliament "undoubtedly represent the feeling of the Iraqi people."

On November 15 the Leftist Saut Al-Ahali reported that numerous communications addressed to the Presidents of the Iraqi Houses of Parliament had been received from all parts of Iraq in support of their telegrams of protest against the pro-Zionist statements of President Roosevelt and Mr. Dewey. This article also reported the receipt of a telegram by the Presidents of the Iraqi Parliament from the Vice-President of the Arab Palestine Party of Jerusalem on behalf of the assembled members expressing the thanks and appreciation of the Arab people of Palestine for Iraq's stand on the Palestine question, appealing to all Arab and Islamic Governments to hasten to save Palestine from the Zionists, and requesting that the Presidents of the Iraqi Parliament mediate with Great Britain for the release of the exiled Palestinian leaders.

Respectfully yours,

File No. 891
WVB/efg.

Loy W. Henderson.

Enclosures:

- Copy of telegram sent to Mr. Dewey on October 19, 1944.
- Copy of telegram sent to Presidents of both Republican and Democratic Parties on November 9, 1944.
- Copy of editorial appearing in An-Nida of November 12, 1944.

Copies to: American Legation, Cairo
American Consulate General, Jerusalem.

Enclosure No. 1 to Despatch
No. 510 of November 16, 1944,
from American Legation, Baghdad.

COPY OF TELEGRAM SENT TO THOMAS DEWEY
ON OCTOBER 19, 1944

Iraqi Legation,
Washington.

Recent declaration advocating Jewish immigration into Palestine is prejudicial to the rights of the Arabs of Palestine and is also contrary to the principles embodied in the Atlantic Charter and to the noble principles of humanity for the preservation and dissemination of which this war is being waged. Declarations of this nature may be due to misinformation regarding the past of the Arabs and their present renaissance. Palestine for thousands of years has been an Arab country and the rights of the Arab population therein cannot be surrendered to satisfy the ambitions of aggressive Zionism. We strongly protest against this your declaration and wish to state that should the Zionists in the United States have wealth and influence the Arabs in Palestine have their strong faith in God their established rights and a nation behind them to defend those rights. We hope that you will not bind yourself with declarations which you will be compelled to disavow when all facts are revealed to you in future. We trust that the American people will not sacrifice their noble ideals nor the friendship of the Arabs who have sided in this war with the Allies with no aim but the victory of democracy and the participation in the building of a world wherein an equity shall prevail among all nations.

Jamil Al-Madfaifi
President Iraqi Senate

Mohammed Ridha Ash-Shebibi
President Iraqi Chamber of
Deputies

Enclosure No. 2 to Despatch
No. 510 of November 16, 1944,
from the American Legation,
Baghdad.

(COPY)

Telegram sent to:
Iraqi Legation,
Washington.

Baghdad, November 9, 1944.

Please convey Presidents of both Republican and Democratic Parties the following:

We in Iraq learnt with dismay that the policy recently adopted in your Party's election campaign advocates unrestricted Jewish immigration into Palestine so that a Jewish state may be established in that Arab country. It is indeed painful to us to find some of your Party ignoring the facts about Palestine and about the Zionist designs and plots against it; despite the fact that your Party has always stood for liberal ideas and sympathy towards smaller nations.

We beg to point out that Palestine, a small country with very poor soil, is already so over-crowded that it can no longer accommodate any number of Jewish refugees without constant subsidies from outside. Any further increase in Jewish immigration constitutes a threat not only to the economic position of the Arabs of Palestine but to their political and legitimate rights in the land of their ancestors; a land which, despite all Zionist devices, can never become Jewish. Any attempt to convert Palestine into a Jewish state will be met by fanatical opposition and violence from both Arabs and by detestation of the Muslims all over the world.

The Jews who immigrated into Palestine have already become a burden to its original population and a threat to security and public order. The terrorist acts at present committed by the Jews are a definite proof of their bad intentions and also of their ingratitude. This is a fact which may help dissipate the delusion of which some of the citizens of your great and noble country have fallen victims.

Most of the Jews immigrated into Palestine following the oppression and persecution which they suffered in Europe. They had no intention whatsoever to establish a Jewish state in that Arab country. Those immigrants could therefore return to their homes in Europe after its liberation, when order and security shall reign under just and democratic governments.

It is a historical fact that the Jews have for centuries lived under Arab rule peacefully and happily. We, the Arabs, can therefore speak with pride of our toleration and sympathy towards the Jewish race. We do not admit that other democratic nations can claim a prouder record of treatment of Jews and other minorities than ours.

You are no doubt aware of the ties which link the Arab countries with the Allies in the present conflict. Many Arabs are actually fighting side by side with the Allied armies for the cause of democracy and the creation of a new and better world. It is therefore not to be expected that America will compel the one million Christian and Muslim Arabs of Palestine to relinquish their rights to their country to foreign immigrants.

We trust that your Party will not advocate any policy which, if adopted, can only result in destruction and bloodshed in the Holy land of Palestine.

(signed)
Jamil Al-Madfaifi
President Iraqi Senate.

(signed)
Mohammed Ridha ash-Shebibi
President Iraqi Chamber of
Deputies.

Enclosure No. 3 to Despatch
No. 510 of November 16, 1944,
from the American Legation,
Baghdad.

(TRANSLATION)

Source: An-Nida, November
12, 1944, Baghdad.

IRAQ UPHOLDS PALESTINE. RESOUNDING PROTESTS AGAINST RECENT
STATEMENTS. THEIR EXCELLENCIES AL-MADFAI AND ASH-SHEBIBI
PROCLAIM IRAQ'S RESENTMENT

An-Nida has not exaggerated its picture of Iraq's re-
sentment and indignation at the recent statements which cer-
tain American Parties have made through their leaders con-
cerning Zionist immigration and the establishment of a Jewish
National Home in Palestine, not heeding the legitimate rights
of the Arabs and the open injustice, which those pronounce-
ments contained, to a people who are still standing alongside
the Allies in this war and assisting them with their efforts
and resources.

These oppressive statements have aroused deep indigna-
tion not only in the hearts of the Iraqi people but also in
the hearts of the entire Arab and Islamic world which is
bound with Palestine by sacred, immortal historical ties.

Moreover, the American statesmen, who have boasted
about upholding justice and the rights of nations, have
killed that boasting with these pronouncements which vio-
late the simplest rules of justice and fairplay. Is there
a more ruthless tyranny than usurping a sacred land which
has been inhabited by the Arabs for numerous centuries
and offering it to foreigners to establish a kingdom and
a government there for themselves?

Palestine's tragedy is paralleled neither in the his-
tory of humanity nor in the history of tyranny throughout
the ages. It is painful indeed that this oppression should
be supported by statesmen who claim that they protect human
freedom and uphold justice and that they are waging this
war urged by these motives, forgetting that by these abo-
minable statements they are inflicting oppression on the
Arabs of Palestine.

It is therefore the legitimate right of the Arabs, who
are raising their voice in protest against those false and
refuted statements, to be prepared against any act intended
to wrench Palestine from their hands and to hand her over to
the Zionists. The Iraqi people shall not, from now on, keep
silent at these activities which will ultimately exterminate
the Arabism of Palestine. The Iraqis have already strongly
defended Palestine on various occasions. These voices of
protest which are being raised by Their Excellencies Saiyid
Jamil Al-Madfa'i, President of the Senate; and Saiyid Ridha
Ash-Shebibi, President of the Chamber of Deputies, undoubt-
edly represent the feelings of the Iraqi people and the senti-
ments of the Arab nation. We trust that this protest will
have a desirable effect on political circles.

Tr: JNC/efg.

Baghdad, Iraq, November 16, 1944.

RESTRICTED

No. 507

Subject: Baghdad Press Comment Relating to the Re-election of President Roosevelt and the pro-Zionist Stand of Mr. Roosevelt and Certain American Personalities.

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

I have the honor to refer to my recent telegrams concerning the treatment in the Baghdad press of the Zionist question and the attitude of certain important American personalities regarding this question and to report that immediately following the announcement of President Roosevelt's re-election all Baghdad Arabic newspapers published editorials condemning Zionism and deploring the promises made in support of Zionism during the Presidential election campaign.

The newspapers, regardless of their political views, differed little in their treatment of this problem. The impression should not be obtained, however, that this similarity demonstrates that they were inspired by a Governmental or other single source. There is no doubt that for weeks practically all Baghdad newspaper editors and journalists have been straining at the leash in order to show their resentment at Zionist activities in the United States. The Government has loosened the leash somewhat but is still exercising a restraining hand. Government restraint, therefore, which permits the writers to go only a certain length in their condemnation, rather than inspiration, is responsible for this similarity. I have no doubt that were it not for Governmental restraint, group demonstrations would have already taken place by this time in Baghdad and elsewhere in Iraq.

Among the ideas advanced in the four enclosed editorials, which are considered to be representative, are the following:

1. The re-election of President Roosevelt is of great international significance. The President is

eulogized

eulogized as a great statesman, a man of action and the defender of the oppressed who, it is hoped, will do nothing to prejudice the rights of the Arabs, who are the friends and Allies of America.

2. It is hoped that pre-election promises to create a Jewish National Home in Palestine which have caused a wave of resentment throughout the Arab World and the implementation of which would tread on Arab Rights and run counter to American traditions of justice and announced war aims, will be forgotten now that the elections are over.
3. It is hoped that the United States will profit from the experience of England which for years has been attempting to "reconcile Arab Rights with Jewish Zionist ambitions".
4. America has no more right to interfere in other countries than Arabs have to interfere in the affairs of the United States.
5. All Arabs including Iraqis stand united and ready to make the supreme sacrifice in defence of Arab Palestine.

Respectfully yours,

Loy W. Henderson

Enclosures:

1. Editorial appearing in As-Sa'ia Newspaper of November 10, 1944
2. Editorial appearing in Al-Akbar Newspaper of November 10, 1944
3. Editorial appearing in Al-Hawadith Newspaper of November 10, 1944
4. Editorial appearing in Saut Al-Ahali Newspaper of November 12, 1944.

File No. 800
VWB/eh.

Copy to: American Legation,
Cairo, Egypt.

Enclosure No. 1 to Despatch
No. 507 of November 16, 1944,
from American Legation, Baghdad.

(TRANSLATION)

Source: As-Sa'a
November 10, 1944
Baghdad.

AS-SA'A'S TOPIC...

By Dr. Abdul Majid Abbas
Professor of International Law at the Law College.

Our American Allies have now witnessed one of the greatest election campaigns in their history which is pregnant with bold democratic experiments. However, the effect of these elections will not be limited to the American people only but will also extend even to the shaping of the destiny of the world. These elections are, at the same time, an eloquent lesson which the great Republic has given to the other civilized nations. It is a tangible evidence in which America demonstrates that the most horrible war which calls for maximum thought and effort, can not divert a free nation from judging its rulers and from re-examining its principles in the light of reason, knowledge, and new experiences. We are exceedingly pleased to watch our Ally undergoing all this and trust that it will be successful in adopting the best path which will lead to the dissemination of the principles of freedom, justice and peace which we are sure are deeply ingrained in the hearts of the Americans.

In meditating over these excellent proofs of democracy and in pinning high hopes thereon, we can not refrain from a feeling of regret and bitterness when we hear that this grand occasion for upholding free government has been shamelessly exploited for the issuance of unfair statements by certain United States personalities pledging the creation of an artificial Zionist state in the heart of the Arab countries. We become reproachful indeed when free-born men, famous for their high attributes, bright culture, and sound and just thinking, make oppressive statements about their allies and friends such as those spoken, written, and broadcast during the presidential election campaign in support of the unjust Zionist claims. If those statements had come from countries other than the United States and made on occasions other than the presidential elections, we would have found some justifications for them. But our regret becomes unlimited when it is revealed that they emanate from a nation that proclaimed the rights of man before the French Revolution and that fought even its own sons in defence of justice and freedom. It is still, even at this hour, offering countless sacrifices for upholding the principles of just peace throughout the world. But what is most embittering is the fact that the foregoing statements are being made at a time when that noble nation is desirous of demonstrating that the principles of freedom and democracy transcend even the urgent necessities of war.

There

There are in the Arab countries hundreds of persons who have either studied in or visited the United States for various reasons. They received from its people their winning humanitarian sympathy and enjoyed their traditional liberty. In the bottom of their grateful hearts these Arabs treasure the sweetest memories and the best sentiments for America. But those same persons can not avoid a feeling of depression, of waning and frustrated hope, and of the futility of friendship, when they hear of the policy which the leaders of the American people, to whom they offered their sincerest friendship and upon whose human fairness they pinned the greatest hope, intend to impose on their country. Those persons (who have either studied in or visited the United States - tr.) naturally realize that local politics entail certain exigencies arising from the course of events and that some of the statements have been made for local consumption only. Nevertheless, they do not want to believe that democracy, for which the hearts of the civilized people everywhere yearn, injures the feelings of friendly peoples and utilizes their prejudiced rights as a means for achieving local successes. If these statements were made in earnest and were based on firm conviction, then they would represent a far greater and more painful calamity. They would, if anything, indicate that mankind has not yet learned by cruel experience how to organize his relationships on the basis of justice and honorable cooperation for universal welfare, and to avoid the recurrent miseries which inevitably arise from a sense of oppression and injustice.

The Arabs of today are different from those of yesterday. Although the Arab countries appear to be naively quiet, they are, nevertheless, intensely vigilant and deeply conscious of the currents and necessities of the new life. This will leave a tangible effect on the friendship of and the exchange of interests among the nations. The world has now become smaller. No country, however large its population and abundant its resources, can remain isolated or ignore world problems which might disturb peace and order. Therefore, it is not in the interest of any nation working for world organization and stability to neglect the rights of the Arabs and to keep in their hearts any feeling of injury or disappointment which might lead to the creation of increasing anxiety in the new world order.

Every thinker who loves mankind will undoubtedly feel that the time has arrived wherein bitter experiments and ventures should cease and efforts should be directed toward cementing the foundations of stability and creating understanding between opposing parties. This, in truth, is the course which our Ally Great Britain has followed after her numerous experiments for bringing about a reconciliation between Arab rights and Jewish Zionist ambitions. We hope that the Americans will reach the same conclusions as those reached by their Ally and will apply one criterion of justice to all the nations. Nevertheless, we are sure that there are a number of American personalities who realize the truth of and greatly sympathize with the Arab cause.

I well remember how the American people were aroused when the Munich settlement was imposed on the Republic of Czechoslovakia and with what warmth the Americans welcomed Dr. Edward Benes, the President of that unfortunate Republic, when he took refuge in the United States after relinquishing the administration of his country under those critical circumstances. I well remember the time when I sat on the classroom bench at Chicago University and listened to Dr. Benes, my new Professor of Political Science. His words still ring in my ears: "There will be no democracy within the nations if there will be no democracy among the nations". Would not that great democratic nation which sheltered that talented refugee - just as it has sheltered hundreds of free men in the past - and permitted him to teach the principles of human freedom and equality in its educational institutions, recall those glorious episodes in its brilliant history and thus apply the principles of democracy to itself and to its Allies, particularly at this time when it is waging a great democratic battle and prosecuting another bloody battle for the sake of democracy? We trust that the elections will be for the good of the American people and for all the world, that the future Peace will be built upon foundations of justice and brotherly cooperation among the various countries and that the statements which have been made during the election will be forgotten and that the Americans will look upon the Palestine question with their instinctive love for justice and fairplay.

Tr: JNC/eh.

Enclosure No. 2 to Despatch
No. 507 of November 16, 1944,
from the American Legation,
Baghdad.

(TRANSLATION)

Source: Al-Akhbar, November
10, 1944, Baghdad.

PALESTINE IS PRE-OCCUPYING THE ARAB WORLD. INCREASED ARAB
INTEREST IN PALESTINE QUESTION. ARAB FRONT TO RESIST
ZIONISM. REPERCUSSIONS OF AMERICAN STATEMENTS - DEFENSE
OF ARABISM OF PALESTINE

In the last mail from the sister Arab countries we received a collection of publications which are full of articles and comments on the Palestine question and on the statements of American leaders concerning the Zionist national home. The following are excerpts from those publications which indicate the extent of the interest which the Arab states are taking in the Palestine question:

Atlantic Charter

Al-Qaba of Damascus carried the following article under the above headline:

Last week, statements continued to emanate from various American sources in the form of a planned campaign supporting unrestricted Jewish immigration into Palestine and turning the sister Arab state into a national home for the Zionists where the Arabs will have as much right as the Americans have in Moscow!

We believed until recently that the matter was nothing but one of the usual United States election issues. Our belief was supported by the refusal of the Foreign Affairs Committee at the American Senate of the proposal for turning Palestine into a national home for the Zionists and for opening the door of immigration to that country.

However, we soon realized that that refusal was temporary only because circumstances were not "propitious" for discussing such a subject for fear lest Arab public opinion might be roused and because the Foreign Affairs Committee decided to discuss the matter anew on November 15, 1944. In the mean time, statements began to pour forth from all sides and from United States responsible officials, all of which harped on the fact that "Palestine is for the Jews!"

Does the Washington Government feel that the circumstances which were then not "propitious" are propitious now, and that the new campaign is the New World's gift to the Arab countries and a United States rejoinder to the decisions of the Preparatory Committee meetings for the Arab Unification Conference?

Does Washington believe that pressure on the unarmed, peaceable Arab people of Palestine is a type of liberation or that liberation is a vague word which sometimes means the liberation of small nations from their homeland?

We are among the strongest admirers of the American people, of American principles, and of American efforts for stabilizing peace and tranquility in the world and for saving it from the clutches of imperialism, terrorism,

and aggression. But how could we interpret these statements? Are there no places in the world other than Palestine which could be used as a national home for the Zionists?

If the matter were merely an election affair, then it is understandable that it should have gone beyond the limit, but if it were a matter to be taken seriously we believe that the final word should certainly rest with the Arabs who have understood their own interests, unified their efforts, and believed in their Allies and the principles of their Allies.

This is a sincere, detached exposé. We trust we are mistaken in our views and "fancies" and trust that time will cause us to correct them and strengthen our confidence in the Atlantic Charter whose provisions accept neither argument nor interpretation.

Arab Front to Resist Zionism

Jerusalem - The Palestine Arab Party which comprises Arab Party leaders and political organizations in Palestine, has decided to invite the people to a big meeting to be held in Jerusalem on November 12 next. The Party has completed the preparations for this meeting to which the members of the various parties and leading personalities working for the national cause will be especially invited.

The Party has laid down a program for the meeting in which a number of leaders will speak on many subjects such as: Jewish immigration; the Arab National Pact and the Arab Unity; the Alexandria Conference and the formation of the League of Arab States; Palestine's position in relation thereto; the decision of the Executive Committee of the General Conference on Palestine; the sale of lands to Jews; the saving of such lands by selling them to Arabs; the Arab Nation Fund; and other vital questions.

It has also been decided that the meeting will serve as a beginning for a series of regional meetings to be held in the various towns and villages at the invitation of the branches and committees of the Parties.

It is learned that the Preparatory Committee for the Arab Unification Conference has decided to open a permanent Bureau in Washington to carry on propaganda for the Arab cause, especially for Palestine and to enlighten American public opinion about Arab questions on the basis that American public opinion is affected by extensive Zionist propaganda and by the influence of Jewish financiers in America.

The Arab Bureau will be shortly established and a number of educated Arab youths will be selected for directing that Bureau. It will be recalled moreover, that such a Bureau existed in London before the war and rendered valuable services to the Arab cause.

Our Land and Freedom

Jerusalem - Arab organizations in Palestine are protesting against recent statements on the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine. Heads of political parties, of chambers of commerce, and of other Arab bodies have protested against what they described: political bargaining

at the expense of the Palestinians. The Arab press is full of articles expressing the prevailing feeling of resentment and indignation.

Saiyid Auni Abdul Hadi, President of the Independent Party, has made the following comment on the statements: "It pains me and it pains all the Arabs too to see those personalities and political organizations give the Jews a country with which they have nothing but friendly relations. They are thus sacrificing an Arab people who hoped for much good from them. Palestine is Arab and an integral part of the other Arab countries. All the Arabs are determined to protect their homeland and no person in Europe and America however, exalted he may be can affect this determination."

Dr. Hussain Al-Khalidi has stated that he conveys the views of hundreds of graduates of American universities when he expresses surprise at the policy which American statesmen have followed in seeking election votes. He went on to say that if those statesmen wanted to seek votes they should search for other means, i.e. opening the wide doors of their country for the immigration of any immigrant or refugee they liked.

Saiyid Hashim Al-Jibusy, Municipal Chief of Tol-Karam, has sent a telegram to the American Consul General in which he resented the recent statements in the name of the Municipal Council and the townspeople. The telegram stated that the statements violated the Atlantic Charter and the democratic principles and that they were a blow directed at the Islamic and Arab world.

Anti-Zionist Committee in Damascus

Damascus - On Sunday, October 8, 1944, a number of leading personalities of this city met and discussed the Palestine situation and Zionist activities, particularly in the United States of America, which aim at urging certain governments to support the Zionists. They felt that Zionist activities must be counteracted by the Arabs who have a right in Palestine, and that committees must be formed to work permanently for:

1. Resisting Zionist propaganda
2. Helping the Palestine Arabs in combating Zionism therein
3. Protecting the other Arab countries from the spread of Zionist danger to them
4. Explaining the Arab cause in Palestine to enlighten European and American public opinion and to make them understand the truth and aims of Zionism and the dangers which might arise from the realization of Zionist ambitions in Arab Palestine. In as much as committees have been formed in certain Arab capitals for this purpose under the title "Anti-Zionist Committees", the assembled men decided to form a committee to be called "The Anti-Zionist Committee in Damascus."

Tr:JNC/efg.

Enclosure No. 3 to Despatch
No. 507 of November 16, 1944,
from the American Legation,
Baghdad.

(Translation)

Source: Al-Hawadith, Novem-
ber 10, 1944, Baghdad.

ROOSEVELT

By an Iraqi Commentator.

President Roosevelt has finally won the elections for the presidency of the American Republic. He will thus be able to lead his mighty people anew for another four years.

In modern history, four years are valuable and important. Humanity has learned much during the past four years... four years in the life of mankind during which President Roosevelt played the leading role and rendered the greatest service to this suffering and stricken humanity, to usurped right, and to shackled liberty.

He has dedicated his life to the creation of the greatest World Power and to supporting it with funds and arms in defense of the weaker nations. The battle fields in North Africa, Italy, France, Belgium, Holland and Germany itself, as well as in the Pacific, are the best proof of the preponderance of this overwhelming power.

He has worked for the creation of a sound and stable order for reconstructing the postwar world. These conferences and legislation about which we read and hear so much are glowing proofs of the good intentions of this mighty man for the welfare of mankind.

Four years of Roosevelt's efforts have turned world developments up side down. America rose from a series of setbacks and unlimited hardships and difficulties to achieve brilliant victories on all the battle, industrial, and cultural fronts.

I may be asked: What has Roosevelt got to do with you? Are you able to be a just judge of such a matter which concerns the American people only?

As a matter of fact, this matter does concern the American people alone. But Roosevelt's success or failure in this critical stage through which the world is passing, and in this total war of liberation, concerns me as an Iraqi just as it concerns the Chinese who is sacrificing his life on the Burmese and Chinese battle fields; the Indian who is struggling on the political and battle fronts; and the European who has suffered from Nazi oppression. It also concerns the great democrats because Roosevelt is a struggling colleague of theirs and a noble conscientious man.

Roosevelt concerns me because he has recognized my existence in this world, because he is the leader who has recognized the political international existence of the Arab nation, and because he lives to uphold the oppressed, aid the needy, help the worker, and raise the standard of mankind without discriminating between one race and another and one color and another.

Roosevelt concerns me as the war approaches its end so that he may implement his promises and stand on my side in the event that I may be violated in the future and to defend me if capitalism and imperialism should usurp my legitimate rights.

Roosevelt concerns me because he has always proved himself to be a man of word and deed.

We the Arabs look forward in these days for men like him because we are now at the crossroads, fighting for Palestine and wanting her to remain Arab at all costs. We shall fight for Palestine until our last breath. Undoubtedly, Roosevelt realizes, before all the other free world statesmen, that we hold a right which must not be usurped or violated.

We are endeavoring to create a homogeneous unity out of the various Arab states. This unity is our right which imperialism has withheld from us for a long time. Roosevelt is one of the few international statesmen who realize that we are worthy of all this and that it is a shame for a person advocating freedom, equality, and social justice to withhold such a right. He will therefore stand at the head of his nation to support the Arabs in attaining this goal.

We look forward to Roosevelt's fourth term in the administration. We have greater hope in the future and greater confidence in Roosevelt's statements and promises for upholding right. Men like him will certainly fulfill their promises. Roosevelt is free in his belief and is a noble man.

Tr: JNC/efg.

Enclosure No. 4 to Despatch
No. 507 of November 16, 1944,
from the American Legation,
Baghdad.

(TRANSLATION)

Source: Saut Al-Ahali, November
12, 1944, Baghdad

MR. ROOSEVELT AND HIS ZIONIST PROMISES

Last week the United States election campaign ended with a victory for Mr. Roosevelt over Mr. Dewey the Republican presidential candidate. The American people have been accustomed to give their full attention to these peaceful election campaigns which are indeed one of the democratic achievements of the world. But this "democratic campaign" - if this expression is possible - has this time been distinguished by the fact that interest in it extended to all the United Nations because the United States of America is one of the greatest Powers fighting Fascist aggression and because of the universal feeling of the importance of Mr. Roosevelt's personality on marshalling the war effort. In truth, Mr. Roosevelt is one of the greatest world figures who felt the Fascist danger and devoted his efforts to fight it before the outbreak of this war. He was thus the greatest opponent of American isolationism and the staunchest believer in the indivisibility of world freedom. He is, moreover, a leading personality upholding the democratic principle in his capacity as a signatory to the Atlantic Charter. In addition to his firm belief in the necessity of fighting and uprooting Fascism, and exterminating its evil, he and the men of his administration have gained a long practical experience in directing this war. He is aware of the war's secrets. It is therefore the right of democratic countries to be pleased with this result of the election campaign, and to be reassured about Mr. Roosevelt's victory over his opponent Mr. Dewey about whose policies the world knows nothing save what he imparted in his recent speeches, statements, and interviews for the sake of winning votes.

Although the United States election campaigns have this brilliant democratic aspect, it is regrettable that they have other aspects which are not without evil. The two Parties campaigning for the Presidency and important political positions consider that everything is permissible for attaining this end. For instance, they give liberal promises for winning election votes to any group through which they hope to win a number of votes, irrespective whether these promises are possible of fulfilment; they also disregard the distant untoward results which may result through efforts to win votes in the election.

The Arabs, while pleased with Mr. Roosevelt's victory because of the foregoing reasons, are exceedingly pained to see a highly experienced man such as he promising the Zionists the realization of a "National Home" in Palestine. He realizes full well that such promises prejudice a magnanimous nation with a position in world politics like the Arab nation. He also realizes full well that the American nation can not at all do without its friendship. Indeed, the entire Arab Nation has resented this statement and has considered it an unfriendly statement calling for resistance. But what on the other hand consoles the Arab Nation is its belief that it is not surprising that certain American statesmen should follow a course in the election which they do not themselves

countenance in normal times. Therefore, the Arabs sincerely hope that this unfriendly statement was made for the sake of realizing the "National Home" for the Zionists. The Arabs feel that American statesmen have sufficient intelligence to realize the difficulties and hardships which the Balfour Declaration caused the British for a quarter of century and the sacrifices which they are now making for an unjust cause. If the United States really wants to be the friend of the Arabs and to maintain a respectable position in Arab countries, she has but one course, i.e. to abandon this pro-Zionist policy which the Arabs rightfully consider as unfriendly and which must be abandoned. The Arabs will not permit any Power in the world to bring vagabonds from all over the world into dear Palestine. The Arabs consider Zionism as a type of Fascism which the democratic world - including the Arabs - are fighting to exterminate. Just as the democratic world is now waging a sacred war against Fascism as an aggressive imperialistic movement wanting to impose its will by force and terrorism, so the Arabs feel that it is their right for this same reason to stand against this imperialistic aggressive movement which wants to impose its will upon them by force and terrorism - the stand of a person defending his country and his just cause. The Arabs also feel that it is their right to make all sacrifices in that respect.

Tr: JNC/efg.

AIR MAIL

Dispatched NOV 22 1944

FROM
Cairo Legation
November 21, 1944

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES
OF AMERICA
BAGHDAD
Rec'd DEC 1 1944
Action

Restricted

Secretary of State,
Washington.

A-634, November 21, 11 a.m.

Reference Legation's telegram no. 3534 of November
21, 8 a.m.

Muad Abuza Pasha called on me this morning bearing
the Arabic text of the protest referred to in my above
telegram. During the course of the conversation, it
developed that for various reasons it had been decided
not to send the telegram to the President, and one object
of the visit appeared to be a hope of inducing the Legation
to transmit it on his behalf. When I explained the impracti-
cality of such a scheme, he gave me the Arabic text which
reads in translation as follows:

"To the
"President of the United States,
"Franklin D. Roosevelt,
"The White House,
"Washington.

"1. The Arabs, who are anxious to maintain cordial
relations with America, do not wish to attach great impor-
tance to certain declarations regarding Palestine which
were made during the recent political campaign, for they
realize, on the one hand, that these declarations were made
in abnormal circumstances and they consider, on the other
hand, that the declarations contradict the spirit of justice
sponsored by you and by the noble American Nation, and are
prejudicial to the cause of peace for which America is
fighting. Moreover, they are contrary to the right of
Arabs to live freely in their own country.

"The

840.1-3
November 21

Cairo/A-654

"The American political campaign is now over, and Arabs expect you, Mr. President, to dispel their fears, restore their faith in American justice, and draw closer the bonds of friendship planted by American schools and nurtured by American teachings and doctrines in the Middle East.

"2. No country in the world has suffered a greater injustice than Palestine. From time immemorial it has been an Arab country. Jews entered it as invaders and only occupied it for a short time; for they were constantly at war with the aborigines, and other invaders soon drove them out until the Arabs, more than thirteen centuries ago, finally liberated the country and settled it.

"3. Palestine is, by the will of God and the patriotism of its people, an Arab country and will forever remain so. Seventy million Arabs, supported by three hundred million Moslems, are determined to redeem it with their lives. Neither the Balfour Declaration, nor the declarations of statesmen and the power of Zionism employing various measures of force and coercion can change the course of history or dissuade Arabs from defending Palestine and checking the tide of Zionism.

"4. Arabs have always sympathized with Jews in their afflictions in past, mediæval and modern times, and history bears witness to this fact. But Zionism has met this kindness by conspiring against Arabs and attempting to wrest Palestine from them. This has naturally led to feuds and bitter feelings which have left no hope of reconciliation or mutual understanding.

"5. The project of installing Jews in Palestine will undoubtedly lead to permanent conflicts which will not only come to an end by one people destroying the other, not only in Palestine but in the whole East as well. This fact is worthy of your attention and the attention of all those who are anxious to establish universal peace and tranquillity in the future.

"6. Arabs cannot believe that Democratic America is capable of helping usurpers, encouraging injustice, sacrificing her reputation, repudiating her mission in this world, discarding her friendship with the Arab world, and foregoing the moral and material interests which she has in Arab and Moslem countries, all for the sake of a race which is widely scattered in the world, and which only relies on the power of money for the realization of its designs.

"For

Cairo/A-384

"For the above reasons, Arabs meeting in Congress hope that you will uphold them in their own country and that Zionism will be given no support by you, your Government or your people."

• (Signed)

THE ARAB UNION SOCIETY,
Fouad Abaza Pasha, President
Assad Dagher, Secretary General.

THE YOUNG MEN'S MOSLEM ASSOCIATION,
Dr. Dardiri, Secretary General.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE INTERNATIONAL
ARAB PARLIAMENTARY UNION CONFERENCE,
Mohamed Aly Allouba Pasha, President.

EL-IKHWAN AL-MUSLIMIN,
Hassan El-Banna, President.

MOSLEM SCITE SECTS,
Shaikh El-Sayed Ahmed Al-Bakri, President.

HIGHER COMMITTEE FOR THE DEFENSE OF PALESTINE,
Hamed El-Meligui Bey, Secretary General.

Repeated to Baghdad, Beirut, Damascus, Jerusalem and
Jidda.

TUCK

DLB/rq

Baghdad, Iraq, November 22, 1944.

UNRESTRICTED

No. 514

Subject: The Mufti of Mosul Supports the Protest Sent
to the United States by the Presidents of the
Iraqi Houses of Parliament.

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington, D.C.

Sir:

I have the honor to enclose herewith a translation of a telegram, dated November 15, which has been received by this Legation from Habib Al-Ubaidi, Mufti of Mosul. Habib Al-Ubaidi, a poet and writer of some note, is taking the lead among Iraqi religious leaders in combating political Zionism. It will be noted that the Mufti requests that his protest against the Zionist propaganda in America and in support of the telegram of protest sent to the Presidents of the Republican and Democratic Parties and to Mr. Dewey by the Presidents of the Iraqi Houses of Parliament be conveyed to those same American personalities.

The Legation has informed the Mufti that it was not in a position to forward texts of his telegram to the persons whom he listed and has suggested that he communicate with these persons direct.

The Baghdad press of November 21 published the text of the Mufti's telegram to this Legation and announced that copies had been sent by the Mufti to the Prime Minister, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, the Presidents of the Senate and Chamber of Deputies and to the British Ambassador.

Respectfully yours,

Loy W. Henderson.

Enclosure:

Copy of telegram dated
November 15, 1944, from
Habib Al-Ubaidi, Mufti of
Mosul.

File No. 800
WWE/efg.

Enclosure to Despatch No.
of November 22, 1944, from
the American Legation, Baghdad.

(TRANSLATION)

INWARD TELEGRAM
RECEIVED AT HOURS 15 AND MINUTES 18
FROM: MOSUL
NO. OF WORDS: 210
ADMINISTRATIVE INSTRUCTIONS: NINE ADDRESSES
DATED: 15
OFFICE OF ISSUE: MOSUL

His Excellency
The United States Minister Plenipotentiary,
Baghdad.

Persons influenced by false Zionist propaganda thought, from time to time, to arouse the feelings of the Arabs and Moslems and to compel the latter to answer them with just protests on the question of Arab Palestine despite the real desire of the Moslems in General, and the Arabs in particular, for the continued prevalence of mutual sympathy and loyalty among the upholders of democracy in whose ranks not a few Arabs and Moslems have been sacrificed. The Jews' treachery in assassinating Lord Moyne, British Minister, and the Arabs' faithfulness to the Allies in both the past and the present conflicts, should serve as a lesson to the American statesmen and the noble American people, and as a logical criterion by which to determine the difference between the Arabs and the Jews and which of the two peoples are more worthy of confidence and dependence. The formation by the Zionists of a terroristic organization in Palestine is a clear proof that any aid which might be extended to facilitate their immigration into Palestine would ultimately turn that country into a human slaughterhouse in violation of democratic principles and the Atlantic Charter and against the wishes of all the free and noble peoples. It would however, be safer and more just to protect the Jews in the countries of their domicile than to help them immigrate into Palestine and thus as a result of such humanitarian sentiments lead them to butcheries. In reiterating my previous protests on Arab and Palestine issues, and in supporting the protests of the Iraqi legislative authorities, I request you to convey this my protest to the Chairmen of the Republican and Democratic Parties and to Mr. Thomas Dewey, Governor of New York State. Success comes from God.

Habib al-Ubaidi
Mufti of Mosul.

Tr:JNC/efg.

TRANSLATION

Inward Telegram
Received at hours 15 and minutes 18
From: Mosul
No. of words: 210
Administrative instructions: Nine addresses
Dated: 15
Office of issue: Mosul

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES
OF AMERICA
BAGHDAD
NOV 17 1944

His Excellency

The United States Minister Plenipotentiary
Baghdad.

Persons influenced by false Zionist propaganda
^{through} ~~the~~, from time to time, to arouse the feelings of
the Arabs and Moslems and to compel the latter to
^{answer} ~~counter~~ them by just protests on the question of Arab
Palestine despite the real desire of the Moslems in
general, and the Arabs in particular, for the continued
prevalence of mutual sympathy and loyalty among the
upholders of democracy in whose ranks not a few Arabs
and Moslems have been sacrificed. The Jews' treachery
in assassinating Lord Moyne, British Minister, and
the Arabs' faithfulness to the Allies in both the past
and the present conflicts, should serve as a lesson to
the American statesmen and the noble American people,
and as a logical ^{criticism} ~~measure~~ ^{with} ~~by~~ which to determine the
difference between the Arabs and the Jews and ^{the} ~~who~~ are
more worthy of confidence and dependence. The formation
by the Zionists of a terroristic organization in Palestine
is a clear proof that any aid which might be extended
^{facilitate} ~~toward~~ their immigration into Palestine would ultimately
turn

turn that country into a human slaughterhouse in violation of democratic principles and the Atlantic Charter and against the wishes of all the free and noble peoples. It would however, be ^{more} just and ~~safer~~ to protect the Jews in the countries of their domicile than to help them immigrate into Palestine and thus ^{lead} them to butcheries as a result of such humanitarian sentiments.) In reiterating my previous protests on Arab and Palestine issues, and in supporting the protests of the Iraqi legislative authorities, I request you to convey this my protest to the Chairman of the Republican and Democratic Parties and to Mr. Thomas Dewey, Governor of New York State. Success comes from God.

Habib al-Ubaidi
Mufti of Mosul.

Tr:JNC

Baghdad, Iraq, November 22, 1944.

UNRESTRICTED

No. 520

Subject: Local Press Attacks Upon American Support
of Zionism Continues.

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

I have the honor to refer to despatch No. 507 of November 18 and to report that the Baghdad press continues strongly to attack Zionism and pro-Zionist statements recently made by certain American personalities. This press campaign has included publication of Arab News Agency and other despatches; (such as the enclosure taken from An-Nida); publication of messages and telegrams of protest against American pro-Zionist statements (Despatch No. 510 of November 18); letters and articles sent to the papers; and editorials, of which translations of two representative of the press in general taken from Al-Bilad of November 19 and from An-Nida of November 21 are enclosed herewith.

This press continues to emphasize three ideas:

1. A feeling of "indignation and hatred" has been aroused in the Arabs by the pro-Zionist declarations of the American politicians who have also been accused of being "so presumptuous as to interfere in Britain's mandatory affairs, thereby offending (America's) great Ally, as well as the Arabs."

2. Zionism is Imperialistic, Capitalistic and Fascist and is mobilized for action militarily, economically and politically. Zionist Leaders wish to build an Empire which would dominate the Middle East economically and politically from the Lybian Desert to the Persian Gulf. Zionist terrorist activities, such as the assassination of Lord Moyne, the formation of the Jewish Legion, and the construction of arms factories in Palestine are cited as manifestations of these Imperialistic and expansionist designs of Zionism.

3. Jews in Middle Eastern countries, and principally in Iraq, "who have long lived peacefully in this country", are opposed to political Zionism. In support of this contention, Al-Iraq on November 17 published an article by a Baghdad Jew who blamed the pro-Zionist statements of "American leaders" on the "Zionist financial influence" behind these leaders and accused "Capitalistic and Imperialistic Zionism" of wishing to "exploit the Jewish masses for the benefit of a few profiteers".

Respectfully yours,

Loy W. Henderson.

Enclosures:

Editorial appearing in
Al-Bilad, November 17,
1944,

Newsitem appearing in
An-Nida, November 21,
1944.

File No. 800
WFB/ehf.

Enclosure No. 1 to Despatch
No. 520 of November 23, 1944,
from the American Legation,
Baghdad.

(TRANSLATION)

Source: Al-Bilad, November
17, 1944, Baghdad.

ZIONIST MOBILIZATION IN THIS WAR

By an Iraqi.

Political Zionism is now undertaking a general and organized mobilization for the purpose of invading all the Arab countries. Careful observers of these Zionist activities will fully realize that the Zionist mobilization methods and their far-reaching effects even surpass Hitler's prewar mobilization methods. Just as most of the nations did not completely realize the dangers of Hitler's mobilization until a late hour - those who did were not prepared to resist it - so is now the case with most of the Arab countries. Those countries have not yet fully appreciated the gravity of the Zionist mobilization and, although they may be aware of it, they are nevertheless not prepared to face it. It is therefore the duty of every sincere Arab closely to examine this Zionist mobilization and to undertake a counter mobilization ensuring the safety of the Arab nation and enabling it to take a successful defensive stand. Otherwise, the future of the Arabs will be dark indeed. We therefore briefly review the various aspects of the general Zionist mobilization so that every one concerned with the future of the Arab countries may read and understand this mobilization.

Military Mobilization: The Zionists have not in the past resorted to aggressive military force. None has advocated the use of arms, except a few revisionist Zionists who favored the occupation of Palestine by force. But these have been mere statements unsupported by action. During this war, however, the opposite has been the case. The use of military force and military training have become an integral part of the Zionist program. There are also illegal military Zionist institutions where Zionist youths are trained in commando and other methods of intensive warfare.

Well-informed persons estimate that there are in Palestine not less than 50,000 Zionist troops trained in modern warfare. The Zionists are able to double this number if necessary. Furthermore, they have armament factories, specializing in the production of hand grenades; they have machine guns and artillery. This clearly indicates that the Zionists want to undertake a military move for taking over Palestine, and they ask the Arabs to surrender and live peacefully under their protection! The Zionist will, moreover, civilize the Arabs, ensure their comfort, and protect their interests! Their terroristic activities, the most recent of which has been the assassination of that bright British personality, Lord Moyne, are but a prelude to their aggressive acts by which they intend to occupy Palestine by force. Every Arab must deliberate upon ways and means of resisting this military Zionist peril. It is neither wise, patriotic, nor humane to neglect this grave aspect of the Zionist mobilization, since self-defense is a humane, patriotic, and religious act. Self-defense is not prompted by courage and faith alone; it needs training, and modern arms and equipment. We still recall how one Zionist hand grenade wrought havoc on hundreds of innocent Arabs in the Haifa and Palestine

bazaars. Let us, therefore, mobilize ourselves, not for aggressive action, however; no, no, but only for self-defense against future Zionist aggression.

Economic Mobilization: Undoubtedly, capitalist Zionism covets Palestine as an outlet for a complete economic colonization of the Arab countries. The Zionists have carried out a terrible economic mobilization during this war. They have established, with immense capital, hundreds of factories by which they have been able to extract large sums of money from the Allies in the supplying of their troops with many commodities priced at several times their actual value. No community has acquired as much economic benefit from the present war which has brought them millions, as have the Zionists in Palestine. They have also derived great benefits from the Arab countries by selling them cheaply made commodities at several times their actual cost. If you search the Baghdad bazaars you will find the shops laden with Palestine goods, but if you examine their quality, you will find them adulterated, poorly made, and of little use. Therefore, because of our shortsightedness, we are building the Zionist national home with our own money. Because of our shortsightedness we are also willingly putting ourselves under the yoke of economic Zionist imperialism. If we had any idea about national economy, we would have avoided these dangers, but we are still neglectful. This immense wealth valued at scores of millions of dinars which the Zionists have amassed, is the only means for robbing the lands of poor and needy Arabs in Palestine. The creation and promotion of national industry and the boycotting of Zionist goods constitute the prime national duty of every Arab. Otherwise regret will come too late.

Diplomatic Mobilization: Few of us know that the Zionists have an extensive political and diplomatic organization with a foreign minister and ministers plenipotentiary similar to those maintained by the great Powers. Few of us realize that this political and diplomatic organization is continually active and endeavoring to influence high political circles in the democratic countries. I do not think I am exaggerating when I say that Shertock in view of his repeated unpublicized visits to England and his secret personal contacts with responsible officials there, must be considered a Zionist Foreign Minister of the first order. Weisman's efforts in England make him a Minister Plenipotentiary, indeed a Prime Minister, of the first class. The Zionist ambassadors in America are legion.

The Zionists wield direct influence on the internal and external policies of the democratic countries. They influence votes and elections. They influence trade and commercial transactions and also the press. Added to all these are the personal relations existing between Zionist leaders and certain leaders in the democratic countries. They have created numerous organizations, all of which aim at turning Palestine into a Zionist state. The last of such organizations is one in Great Britain which a number of British personalities have joined. This organization attempts to make Palestine a Jewish state which will become a dominion in the British Commonwealth of Nations.

The Zionist propaganda mobilization in the democracies is the strongest Zionist weapon against the Arabs. The

Zionists publish hundreds of newspapers and periodicals. Moreover, they directly influence the non-Zionist press. A British newspaper complained, after Lord Moyne's assassination, that the British public was not being enlightened about the gravity of the Zionist terroristic movement. It attributed this to two reasons: Firstly, the people's preoccupation with the war; secondly, the fact that most of the press correspondents are Jews who do not truly portray the severity of Zionist terrorism. Is there a more tangible proof than this Zionist domination over a large portion of the press in democratic countries? The press itself is complaining against such domination.

Undoubtedly, political mobilization is stronger and more intense than the military and economic mobilizations but the three are inter-related and merge into each other. They are also pointed toward one general and all-inclusive mobilization which Zionism is undertaking against the Arab countries. It is essential to understand this mobilization. It is also necessary to work to overcome it to prepare for self-defense. We trust that the leaders of the great Powers, particularly the Americans, will realize the great danger which the Zionists are brewing for the future world peace, and will endeavor to overcome such danger before it becomes irremediable.

Tr:JNC/efg.

Enclosure No. 2 to Despatch
No. 520 of November 23, 1944,
from American Legation, Baghdad.

(TRANSLATION)

Source: An-Nida, November 21,
1944, Baghdad.

EGYPTIAN PARTIES ASK ROOSEVELT TO WITHDRAW HIS STATEMENTS

Cairo - As a result of meeting held by the four political parties in Cairo yesterday, a telegram was addressed to Mr. Roosevelt asking him to withdraw his recent statements supporting and upholding the establishment of a National Home for the Jews in Palestine now that he has been re-elected to the Presidency. The parties emphasized in the telegram that the Arabs and Moslems would not refrain from sacrificing their souls and belongings in their anti-Zionist struggle.

An-Nida - We expected this to happen. We did not want to see sentiments in the Arab countries aroused against the American Republic which claims to be promoting freedom among the nations and that it was (America) which was principally responsible for the offering to the world of the Atlantic and other Charters. Now that the thing has happened, America has no recourse but to rectify this matter with her wisdom. Otherwise, if she was not aware of it in the past, she will now learn that the Arabs are a strong and proud people to whom life becomes meaningless without pride and self-respect. A belief in the necessity of defending their holy places is one of their deeply ingrained characteristics. Consequently, there is an excellent opportunity for American statesmen to abandon their pronouncements in order to preserve their own and their country's reputation among the Arab and Moslem peoples and throughout the world.

Tr: JNC/ehf.

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

From: Department of State
Washington, D.C.

Date: December 11, 1944

No.: 263

Code: En Clair

Received: December 12, 1944

MOST IMMEDIATE

Department today issued the following statement to the press "Resolutions pertaining to Palestine have recently been before the appropriate committees of the Congress and the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations has inquired as to the attitude of the State Department toward these resolutions. The Department has the utmost sympathy for the persecuted Jewish people of Europe and has been assisting them through active support of the work of the War Refugee Board and in every other possible way the Department considers however that the passage of the resolutions at the present time would be unwise from the standpoint of the general international situation and has so informed the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations".

Stettinius

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AMERICAN INFORMATION SERVICE
BAGHDAD, IRAQ
(OFFICE OF WAR INFORMATION, UNITED STATES OF AMERICA)

File
Evans
Dec. 14, 1944.

Hon. Loy Wesley Henderson
The American Minister
American Legation,
Baghdad, Iraq.

Dear Mr. Minister:

I am attaching a transcription of an "essay" which I feel may be of some interest to you and perhaps to the Department.

It is an analysis by an Iraqi newspaperman, a Moslem, of the true feeling (in his opinion) of all classes of Iraqis on the subject of Palestine and Zionism.

This individual brought me the attached, written in English, as a confidential memorandum -- saying that I knew the position of his newspaper and the position expressed by both Iraq officialdom and the native press -- but that neither of these reflected in full the view of the Iraqi "man in the street".

On reading it, it occurred to me that everything I have passed back to my office has been either from official sources or passed at second hand: my report of how I understood Iraqis to feel. This memo represents the first time a local has given me the opportunity to relay directly and in confidence his own view of the local feeling.

I might add that this newspaperman brought me the analysis with the statement that he thought it might be useful to me to help the people in our office back home in gauging Iraqi thought.

Although I agreed not to pass along his name, I can vouch for the fact that he is one who for nearly two years has expressed -- and more important, demonstrated -- friendliness to America and to this office:

Sincerely --

Gillespie S. Evans
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The Arabs' conception of the Zionist movement as it exists in Palestine may differ in form, among various groups, but it is basically built on one of the main features of the nature of Zionism:- that is its political motives in Palestine in particular, and its far reaching economic ambitions in the Arab countries as a whole.

The enlightened section of the Arab population in Iraq, tends to bear the latter thought, and supports the official position that Zionism does not represent Jewish Religious motives, but only symbolizes the political and economic ambitions of "Jewish" world financiers who seek the domination of the enveloped Middle and Near East countries, and thus the Zionist movement in Palestine is nourished. There exists a unanimity among the Arabs that Jews, whether living in Palestine or abroad, have the right to regard Palestine a sacred religious center, and their rights within that sphere are never questioned. Freedom of paying homage and visiting Palestine was not denied to the Jews living in other Arab countries during the past. This freedom was gradually restricted (I quote Iraq as an Example) as it more clearly appeared, especially during the last decade, that pilgrimages began to conceal political aims behind and to take on a form of immigration.

Iraq has always stood in the forefront of the Arab countries in support of an Arab Palestine, as it has in support of the Arab Unity Scheme.

The will of maintaining Palestine an Arab Country and under the Arab sovereignty is unanimously voiced by the whole of the Iraqi people. This will does not confine itself to sheer moral support. It may go beyond and bring about a direct intervention at any time the response to such an action is called for. The necessity of such intervention has always been voiced by public opinion; the papers and popular movements, before the outbreak of the present war. All shades of opinion, from right to left, and from religious to non partisan, are united on the Palestine issue. In many mass demonstrations, intervention was demanded and the mandatory power violently abused. This feeling is regarded as no longer an emotional expression but as a true national phenomenon.

The views held by Iraqis on Palestine and Zionism can be classified into three groups:

1- Those who regard Palestine the sacred center as well as a legal land of Arab population. They argue that the tolerance of Islam rule has always proved its capability to safeguard the rights and freedom of minorities.

Among the fanatic religious groups are found some elements who cannot hide their racial feeling towards the Jews. Such elements once found relief in Nazi anti semitic movement to get rid of the Jews. But the course of events and the unveiling of the truth of the Nazi creed as "Anti non-Germanic peoples" altered this trend of thought among such elements, and they are coming more and more, however few they are, to distinguish between the Jews and the Zionists. What social discrimination or prejudice may exist against the Jews among some individuals is only due to economic affairs within the country itself, especially in sphere of supply and black marketing matters, (for which not only the Jews are responsible.)

The outburst of July 1941 against the Jews in Baghdad had violent repercussions and was condemned by all classes as being untrue to the spirit of the people and an act committed by looters and ruffians.

2 - The second group consists of those who regard Zionism a political instrument exploited by the interested powers to weaken the Arab National movement of Unity, and to create a "second danger" that would divert the force of this movement to combat the Zionist danger instead of concentrating on combating the existing dominating foreign influence exercised upon each individual Arab country. Therefore Zionism becomes in the view of that group, an international political instrument to stem the collective growth and concentration of the Arab struggle towards achieving direct self liberation.

These two trends of thought, however are cherished by very small groups of the population, and represent a diminishing number of people.

3 - The third trend of conception is cherished not only by the majority of the population and also by the most enlightened and the most advanced people in education and politics. The holders of this conception have greatly increased in number lately, and are giving wide spread public demonstrations to propagate their views. Official circles of the Government have been giving out the same representation of the Zionist danger, and calling the mass attention of the people to it. I would quote a statement (unreleased) by the Iraqi foreign Minister to the effect that the Zionist danger has taken a political shape threatening not only Palestine but also the national sovereignty of all the other Arab States. The papers have been pressing this question forward and the Iraqi man of the street is becoming more and more conscious of it.

The Iraqi common people no more question the right of the Arabs in Palestine. That is thought to be an old argument that need no more stressing. The public opinion is now bent on arguing the "Jewish" (the Zionist) persistence not to safeguard the "Jewish Rights in the Sacred Land" but to convert it into a Zionist colony, and if possible, to oust the Arab population.

The overwhelming majority is now conscious of the official view that as the war draws nearer to its end the Palestine question should reach its final settlement. People in Iraq cannot see a settlement to the Jewish world question through converting Palestine into a Jewish Nation Home, and that this is possible. Palestine cannot digest all the millions of Jews living throughout the work, nor are all these millions prepared to give up their citizenships if a "National Home" is created in Palestine. Therefore the Zionist propaganda for Palestine is regarded sheer exploitation by an ambitious minority of the wealthy in the name of the world, who themselves have no definite body to express and represent their collective ambitions whatever they may be.

That of the Axis in Europe will end the period of programs and mass persecutions of Jews, and those who sought safety in other parts of the world will once more be glad to return to the countries of their citizenships. The prevalent belief common among the Iraqi population now is that these foreign Jews who will want to remain in Palestine after the war, will only do so for political aims.

Now for the Jews living in Iraq. They can also be classified into three groups:
Those who are politically unconscious of the issue. It would satisfy them to go on living in the country as they have always been, with a feeling that, though regarded a minority, they can continue their easy life.
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The elements of this group constitute the overwhelming majority of the poor class of Jews : Some may have an inner feeling of being looked down on by certain sections of the population, and they still retain a non cohesive interdependence spirit. A sort of interdependence is prevalent amongst themselves.

2 - The second group consists of Jewish elements, who are Zionists or hold Zionist sympathies. These elements are aware that they cannot reveal their feeling, and although they can be regarded a negligible minority among the Jews, the majority of them would not choose to give up the life they ~~have~~ become accustomed to in Iraq to migrate to Palestine. There may be some activity among such elements in favor of Zionism, but such movement is highly secret and very limited in scope and purpose.

Zionists or Zionist sympathisers are found mainly among the middle class groups. These sympathisers consist of the dissatisfied middle class individuals who think that Zionism may provide better prospects for them. It could be noted here however, that such individuals represent by no means a notable proportion of the Jewish population.

The third group of the Jewish population consists first of the wealthy and second of the more educated (the majority of the latter may be regarded as having with leftist ideology). This group stands squarely against the Zionists and the Zionist movement. The motive behind this attitude of the wealthy people is their care for their well established interests in Iraq. They also regard any realisation of Zionism in Palestine, a potential threat of these interests and have the direction of thought that they cannot compete with Zionist Capitalists in Palestine once they are forced to live in Palestine.

Another section of the Jews that stand against Zionism consists of the leftist elements and of a good proportion of the educated youths who have the feeling that they belong to Iraqi citizenship and who realize the real motives behind Zionism. This group live up with the Arab population in their ~~struggle~~ and struggle against Zionism.

It can be emphatically said that the whole of the Iraqi people stand irreconcilably against Zionism and can digest no thought of creating any Zionist colony in Palestine. The plan once put out to partition Palestine and create a separate "Jewish Authority" was promptly rejected and declared officially as a Zionist Plan. Any attempt aiming at the establishment of Zionism in Palestine as a sovereign authority will lead to unending disturbances, and it can be taken for granted that the Iraqi people will want to have the lead in any form of combat against such authority.

It remains another picture of the ~~story~~ story as far as the United States America is concerned:

The role America played in waging the present war helped very greatly and surprisingly quickly, to divert the sympathies of all classes of Iraqi people towards it. A common feeling prevailed that America can have no dominating intentions when dealing with or helping the small nations, including those of Arab Countries. Admiration for American democracy; the way it works; American Achievements, and the American way of life has been becoming more and more evident, together with a belief that cooperation in the limit of America's direct participation, and of provoking America's interest to have a hand in the affairs of the Arab countries, became more widespread among all classes of the people. All that was due to the existing feeling that America was seeking no personal ambitions and that her helping hand to the Arab would not be on any basis of infringement of the freedom and

independence the Arabs desire to enjoy:

It is only natural to say that the growth of such feeling towards America became a source worthy of arousing the attention of some other party concerned. Different means were expected to be exploited to counteract, and the Zionist story was the most fruitful one. The much prominence given to aggravating the Zionist danger illuminating from America had no doubt given some of its results to stem the growth of the feeling towards America, and spread the belief that "American Democracy" is feeding the Zionist Dragon that threatens all the Arab Nations.

It is the feeling of all the sincere elements who understand America that counter measures must be taken to secure the good confidence of the Arabs, and that more attention must be paid to explain the stand of Zionism in America. An erroneous belief may be spreading among the common people that Zionism has the backing of the American Government, or at least is not regarded a movement contrary to the sympathy of its policy. This belief would lead them to understand the policy of the American Government, as far as the common people are concerned, as being against the Arabs.

We do feel that in America are many people who sympathize with the Arabs and support their cause. We also understand that Zionism has its opponents in America, even amongst the Jews themselves, and that the Zionist movement is in no way attached to the policy of the American Government. Therefore we feel that it would be the great interest of America, as far as the millions of Arabs are concerned, that attention be paid, whether through official or non-official channels, to show the other side of the Zionist story in the United States. To help the common people to understand here those things which would stem their belief that the greatest danger threatening them is permitted to grow in America.

It is the hope of all the good Iraqis that Zionism and its implications will not be allowed, in America, to stem or to hinder the desire of bringing forth the fullest understanding and cooperation of the Arabs with the United States, in the new era.

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AIRGRAM

FROM:
Baghdad
Date: December 21, 1944
Rec'd:

The Secretary of State,
Washington, D. C.

A-77, December 21, 9 p.m., 1944.

Reference is made to my airgram A-75 of December 19, referring to a note which I was expecting from the Iraqi Foreign Office relating to Congressional Resolutions on the subject of Palestine.

The note in question bearing today's date was received this afternoon. The English translation of this note made in the Legation reads as follows:

"The Ministry of Foreign Affairs presents its compliments to the American Legation in Baghdad and has the honor to state that, being motivated by a feeling of sincere friendship toward the Government of the United States of America, the Iraqi Government wishes to draw the American Government's attention to the difficult situation in which it finds itself. This situation is created by the deep feeling of the Iraqi people for the Arabs of Palestine and by their anxiety over the future of their brethren in that country, an anxiety which is heightened whenever the Foreign Affairs Committee in each of the two Houses of Congress are presented resolutions recommending the taking of decisions favoring the unrestricted opening of the doors of Jewish immigration into Palestine and the establishment of a Jewish state therein.

"Iraq and the other Arab countries consider Palestine to be an Arab country not dissimilar in any way from the other Arab Wilayets (provinces) which were attached to the Ottoman Empire and which have all now become independent Arab States.

"The Palestinian incidents which took place on several past occasions have had direct effects on Iraq. It has, therefore, become incumbent upon the Iraqi Government to be constantly vigilant. These circumstances have impelled it to explain the situation to the friendly Government of the United States. The Iraqi Government is

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exceedingly anxious that American-Iraqi relations shall be developed in an atmosphere fraught with sincere friendship and mutual confidence, and it is feared that such resolutions and events might affect the situation and disturb the calm, all of which is not desirable to anyone.

"The Ministry wishes to state that it may be remembered that there are still many people in the world who are interested in creating difficulties and disturbances among the members of the United Nations and that the propaganda of the Axis powers is persisting in a fiendish effort to affect the unity of the United Nations by taking advantage of the Palestine question; this behooves us to avoid giving such opportunities to the enemy.

"The position of the Iraqi Government is rendered more difficult when the committees of such important institutions as Congress make such recommendations. The Iraqi Government cannot remain as a spectator of the tragedy which the Zionists wish to enact on the stage of the world.

"The resolution for the adoption of such a decision is directly opposed to the principles of the Atlantic Charter and violates all the lofty principles of humanity. It undoubtedly arises from the effect of Zionist propaganda on the statesmen in America which leaves no scope for many of them to study, to investigate the justice of the case, and freely to hear the opposite point of view. The principle of interference in the destiny of the countries of others is an extremely dangerous one. This war is raging to exterminate that principle and to bring about justice among the peace-loving nations. It is not reasonable for a Power permeated with the spirit of justice to give Arab Palestine away to the Jews in contravention of these lofty principles. This reassures us that the Palestine cause would inevitably and ultimately be solved in the interest of its Arab inhabitants.

"All the Arabs are completely confident of the justice of their cause in Palestine and of the transgression resulting from Zionist interference therein. Nothing shall, therefore, prevent them from fighting in defense of their legitimate right in Palestine regardless of costs. The Arabs appeal to the leaders of America to weigh the Zionist cause and the benefits which may result from supporting it against the sacrifices and efforts which America has made in the Arab and Islamic countries and the firm traditional friendship and material and moral interests which these sacrifices and efforts have created now and will create in the future in the Arab countries, and also against America's reputation for upholding justice and right. Only then will appear the wide difference between the profit and loss which American will experience in the event she supports the unjust Zionist policy.

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"The Iraqi Government is fully cognizant of the fact that the Constitution of the United States of America imposes the principle of the division of powers between the Executive and Legislative branches. It, therefore, hopes that the American Government will, in its Executive capacity, make the viewpoint of the Iraqi Government known to the Legislative authority. It must be stated in this connection that the statement which Mr. Stettinius has recently sent to the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee has more or less alleviated the crisis which has arisen in the hearts of the Iraqi people. But we wish to be reassured that the American Government will not be affected by Zionist attempts which are undoubtedly contrary to the principles of right and justice. We likewise wish to reiterate here that the continued application by the Zionists of their plans for the realization of their unlimited ambitions will inevitably lead to the occurrence of unrest and disturbances and the shedding of blood in this part of the world. We do not believe that this will gain the support of the American nation which is famed for its adherence to the principles of justice and peace.

"The Ministry avails itself of this opportunity to express its highest consideration and respect."

HENDERSON

LWI:gmjr.